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Najah's 'Palestine Week' Raided; University Shut for 4 Months

Israeli military authorities closed down Najah National University in Nablus, the largest higher education institution in the occupied territories, for four months starting July 30. The closure order came after a five-hour raid by Israeli soldiers, during which most of the contents of a Palestine Week Festival were destroyed or looted, and a one-day *de facto* closure by roadblocks.

The raid took place on Sunday night at 10.20. Only three students were staying at the university to guard the exhibits. Dr Sharif Kana'aneh, the university president, said that between 70 and 100 soldiers accompanied by two transport trucks forced their way onto the campus and began searching through the various exhibition rooms of the Palestine Week. A second group of soldiers, numbering about 100, came after 11pm and helped load most of the books, posters, magazines, national products and cultural objects onto the trucks. Among the materials seized were irreplaceable newspapers from pre-1948 Palestine. The soldiers tore up and destroyed materials which they could not carry away. They also arrested the three students who were guarding the exhibition. Before it left, the raiding force posted guards at the entrance to prevent anyone from entering the campus.

The Israeli authorities claimed that the exhibition contained inciting materials and equipment which could be used for incitement. They singled out some axes, chains and two plastic models of automatic rifles, in addition to paintings symbolising the Palestinian struggle.

In a statement issued August 1, the university board of trustees said that the equipment seized from the university was perfectly legal. The statement said that the gun models are toys which are sold in toy shops in the occupied territories. As for the alleged 'illegal publications,' all were local publications which had passed military censorship. Students and employees of the university also argued that, like all Palestine Week exhibitions in all West Bank universities, Najah contained a special exhibition of prisoners' works which included paintings symbolising the Palestinian struggle.

The university was effectively closed the following day, July 30, by Israeli soldiers who prevented students and university officials from getting on campus. That evening, the military authorities summoned Kana'aneh and Hikmat al-Masri, head of the board of trustees, and informed them of the closure order.

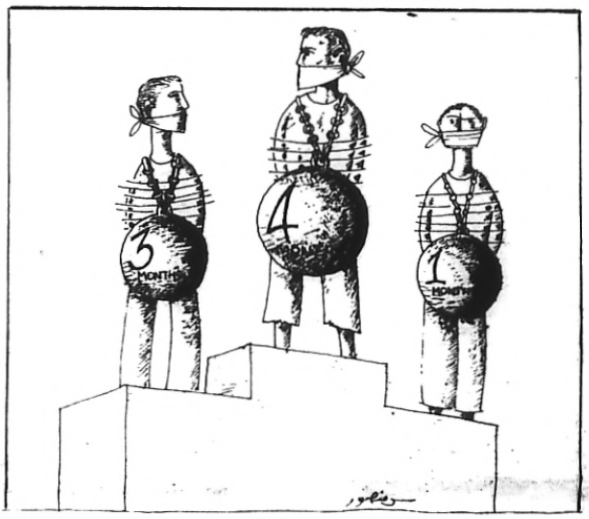
The closure order practically cancelled registration for the new 1984/1985 academic year, wasting one year for hundreds of new high school graduates who intended to enrol in the university. About 800 students, scheduled to graduate in September, must wait an additional 10 months before graduation.

The Palestine Week Festival, which was organised by the university student council, opened Saturday July 28 and was scheduled to last seven days. The festival, which is an annual event organised in all West Bank universities, contained seven exhibitions, which included the book exhibition, cultural exhibition, art festival, national press exhibition, Palestinian plants exhibition, national products exhibition, and posters and tapes.

The Israeli military authorities had earlier raided and confiscated the contents of the Palestine Week Festival at Hebron University. The Palestine Week Festival at Bir Zeit University was arsoned three months ago by unidentified people, who students believe are backed by the Israeli authorities.

Dr Kana'aneh described the punishment as "out of proportion." Never before has a university been closed for four months by a single order. Dr Kana'aneh pointed out that all the West Bank universities and some other national institutions had had similiar shows and that there was nothing unusual about Najah's festivities.

The university board of trustees condemned the forced entry into the university and called it a violation of academic norms. The council's statement also demanded that the authorities rescind the closure order and allow students to continue their education. The elected mayor of Nablus, Bassam Shaka'a, condemned the Israeli authorities' measure as "the same repressive scenario." He added that the Israeli election results have paved the road towards even more repressive measures.



"...and in the category of military-ordered university closures, Najah takes the iron first, Bir Zeit the lead second and Bethlehem zinc for third place.."

Organised Criminals Target College Students in Beitunia

The entire student body at the Modern Community College in Beitunia, near Ramallah, went on strike and held a peaceful march August 1 to protest the recent harassment by members of the Israeli-backed Village Leagues. Every night last week Ramallah area League members shot and hurled stones at student dormitories.

More than 1300 students held a sit-in at Asqalani building on the Latrun road in Beitunia and refused to attend classes. Later, they marched in a silent protest in the city streets, carrying placards denouncing the Village Leagues. Israeli border guards tried to provoke them by driving around them and calling on them to disperse. One student, who did not want to be identified, said that harassment by Village Leaguers has been going on for a long time. "They escalated their provocations last Thursday (July 26)," he said. The student explained that on that evening, Village Leaguers tried to run over three students walking in the Beitunia municipal building. When the students shouted at them, the Leaguers, armed with knives and clubs, threatened them and called them 'terrorists.'

Later on the same evening, the same Leaguers ambushed the students and fired shots towards them. The students ran back to the dormitories. Later, as students gathered in the cafeteria to discuss the shooting attempts, Israeli border guards surrounded the cafeteria building and threatened to force their way into the building unless students dispersed. Officials from the college and town residents, including the mayor, Ahmad Lutfi Othman, explained to the soldiers that students were not holding a strike.

In a telephone interview with *Al Fajr*, Mayor Othman tried to play down the attacks, saying that they were minor incidents between a local resident and the students. He asserted that the problem was over.

College officials later discovered that Village League head Riad al-Khatib and his bodyguards filed a complaint at the Ramallah police station against the students accusing them of firing at the League members.

continued on page 13

IN THIS ISSUE

Soviet Union Announces Peace Plan p.2
Settlers' Sewage Leak p.3
Kach Thugs Loose p.4
Eitan's Anti-Semitism p.6
Aden Agreement to Democratise PLO p.7
Anarchism of Israeli Elections ..... pp.8&9
Terror Theatre in Old City, Jerusalem p.10
Theatre Troupe Harassed p.13
Israeli Parties and the Formation of a New Government p.16

USSR Proposes Peace Solution Based on Brezhnev Plan

The Soviet Union proposed a detailed and comprehensive peace plan towards a solution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict July 29, based on recognition of Palestinian national rights and an international conference attended by all parties in the conflict, including the PLO and Israel. Israel and the US immediately rejected the plan.

The plan is an elaboration on the 1980 Brezhney plan which put forth six principles as the basis for an international negotiating conference:

1) Restoring all areas occupied by Israel in 1967, the Golan Heights, the West Bank and Gaza, to Arab sovereignty, and establishing permanent boundaries between Israel and its Arab neighbours.

2) Guaranteeing the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and guaranteeing PLO participation in any peace settlement.

3) The return of Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty.

4) The recognition of the right of all states in the region to exist and develop in peace and independence.

5) All parties, including Israel and the future Palestinian state, must agree to respect each other's national integrity and unity.

6) Using international guarantees from the five permanent security council members to implement the agreement.

The plan did not suggest a date or place for the conference. It stressed that, in addition to the PLO and Israel, all Arab countries which are directly concerned with the conflict, particularly Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt, must attend the conference. The plan also proposd that the Soviet Union and the United States play the role of mediators at the conference.

The Soviets suggested that the foreign ministers of the participating countries open the preliminary meetings, and leave special delegations to tackle technical problems. The plan suggested the setting up of five working committees, which must be composed of all parties, to discuss the main issues of Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and Jerusalem, restoring peace in the region, the security of all countries in the region, and international guarantees for the agreement. The plan also calls for a bilateral PLO-Israeli committee to discuss the formulation of necessary agreements and stressed that all decisions must be taken unanimously.

The PLO executive committee, in a meeting in Tunis July 31, expressed support for the Soviet initiative. A statement issued said that the proposal is based on the Brezhnev plan, which was accepted and approved by the 16th PNC session.

The Soviet initiative was also welcomed by Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), prominent member of Fatah Executive Committee. Speaking to the Jordanian daily *Sawt al-Sha'ab*, Khalaf said the plan complemented the international (UN) resolutions which recognise the Palestinian people's rights.

The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) issued a statement July 30, proclaiming full support for the proposals. "The politbureau of the Democratic Front warmly welcomes these proposals, and calls upon all factions, forces and Palestinian and Arab national figures to support it because it represents a new expression of the unconditional support which the Soviet Union gives to our revolution and the national cause of our people, and to our nation's struggle against Imperialism and Zionism," the statement read.

The Soviet proposal, the first formal plan of its kind in four years, was immediately vetoed by both Israel and the United States. An Israeli official was quoted by *The Associated Press* July 29 as saying that Israel objects to an international conference attended by the PLO. The official said that "Moscow could not play a central role in a Middle East peace settlement as long as it does not maintain diplomatic relations with Israel." The Soviet Union broke off diplomatic relations with Israel in 1967 after Israel attacked Syria, Jordan and Egypt.

The Jerusalem Post quoted an Israeli official as saying that Israel would consider the possibilities of participating in such a conference if Soviet diplomatic relations were restored.

In the US, a State Department spokesperson said that the US opposed the plan because it "did not see where the Soviet participation would be helpful."

POWs Face Charges In Lydda Court

Two *fedayin* who carried out a grenade and gunfire attack at a West Jerusalem intersection on April 2 admitted the charges against them in Lydda military court session on July 29 but insisted on prisoner-of-war status which disallows their being tried.

Amjad Mustafa Ahmad Rabaya, 21, and Wafik Yousef Sawalha are accused of a number of charges, the most serious of which is armed assault in which 52 Israelis were wounded and one Israeli was killed. The third commando in the group was killed during the operation. The trial of the two commandos began June 18. The charge sheet stated that both came from Lebanon, through the border point at Ras al-Naqoura, and were trained in the use of weapons and had participated in several attacks on Israeli positions in Lebanon.

The fighters were members of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine since 1982, according to the court document. Rabaya' reportedly fought in battles against Israeli invasionary forces and Sawalha participated in several attacks against Israeli troops in Lebanon. Both commandos entered the country with the intention of taking hostages in the Israeli ministry of tourism in order to exchange with Palestinian prisoners held in Israel. They brought with them two submachine guns and grenades from an arms cache in Jenin area and used them in the attack.

Rabaya', Sawalha and the third person, identified only as Ismail, who was killed at the attack site by armed passersby, drove their vehicle from East to West Jerusalem where they entered a sports wear store, prepared their guns and then emerged and shot in all directions. At the beginning of the first session, defence lawyer Abed Assali argued that the court is not authorised to try his clients. Assali based his claim on the Fourth and the Fifth Articles of the Third Geneva Convention of 1949 and international law which consider his clients as prisoners of war. In his defence argument, Assali said that his clients did not intend to kill innocent people but had intended to hold a number of tourism ministry's employees hostage. He insisted that the court must grant his clients the status of prisoners of war.

After hearing the charges and explaining in detail the actions of Sawalha and Rabaya', the prosecutor demanded that the court must imprison them for life. The judge postponed the trial until September. (Translation: The Jerusalem Post, July 31, and other local papers)

ESCALATING OFFENSIVE BY NATIONALIST FORCES IN SOUTH LEBANON

Two Israeli soldiers were wounded in Nabatiyeh July 27 when their military convoy was ambushed by Lebanese nationalist commandos. An Israeli military spokesperson said attackers opened light arms fire on the convoy, which returned fire. The Israelis searched the area but no arrests were made. Later, all of Nabatiyeh's shops were closed. Israeli military sources reported at least 13 military attacks during the past week, a sharp increase from previous weeks.

In an effort to curb attacks and reduce casualties, Israeli troops and their allies, the South Lebanese Army (SLA), closed the ports of Tyre and Sidon last week, preventing fishermen and merchants from attending to their business.

Israeli troops shot and killed a Lebanese resident July 27 in Sidon. Israeli military sources claimed that the man was planting a bomb by the roadside when an Israeli patrol surprised and shot him. There is no independent confirmation of this story.

Israeli troops also shot and killed two Lebanese civilians in the Sidon area August 1. They again claimed that the two men were planting a roadside bomb, when a military patrol drove by, opened fire and killed them instantly.

During the past few weeks, a number of Lebanese civilians have been shot dead by Israeli troops on suspicion of taking part in military operations.

An SLA patrol (SLA patrols have been replacing Israeli troops in three major south Lebanese cities) was attacked with grenades August 1 in Tyre. Israeli newspapers claimed there were no casualties.

Two booby-trapped cars exploded July 30 in the village of Nakura in south Lebanon. An Israeli military spokesperson claimed there were no casualties. Israeli troops have opened an investigation into the explosions. Also on July 30 nationalist commandos fired anti-tank rockets towards an Israeli position in the Hasbaya area, in south Lebanon.

The Jerusalem Post reported a total of nine military attacks were carried out July 29 and 30 against the Israeli army and the SLA.

Lebanese Prime Minister Rashid Karameh praised the nationalist commandos operating against the Israeli occupation in south Lebanon. Karameh said July 26 that his government "respects those who are waging guerrilla warfare against the Israeli occupation army in South Lebanon."

Israel Drops Phosphorous in Nahr al-Bared

"Israeli helicopters and naval units focused their bombardment on the Nahr al-Bared refugee camp," the BBC reported August 1. "Some casualties among residents of the camp were reported," the broadcast added.

According to Israeli sources, Israeli helicopters and naval units twice bombarded Palestinian military positions in Nahr al-Bared refugee camp, 10 kilometres north of Tripoli, where 16000 Palestinian refugees live. Israeli sources reported that two or four helicopters waged a five-minute air attack against a Palestinian naval base belonging to the Fatah breakaway Abu Mousa faction. An Israeli military spokesperson said that the base is used for training and operations launched against Israel. Hours after the helicopter raid, the Palestinian military position was shelled by Israeli naval units. Israel Radio reported August 2 that Palestinians in Tripoli announced that three people had been injured in the bombing. They also quoted Palestinians as saying radar-controlled phosphorous bombs were used.

In June, Israeli aircraft attacked Palm Island, near Tripoli, on the pretext that it was used as a Palestinian naval base, and killed 15, including an Israeli soldier taken prisoner-of-war by the DFLP. A Lebanese ship *en route* to Lebanon was hijacked to Haifa last month by Israeli naval forces. The ship's eight-member crew and two Palestinians are still held by Israel.

Israeli pilots claimed direct hits on a PLO base which included military boats and fighters.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 222, August 3, 1984:

Number of articles submitted to censors	12
Number of articles totally censored out	2
Number of articles partially censored but used	4
Number of articles passed	6

Only 54% Pass Jordan's 'Tawjihi'

The exam results for the Jordanian-issued General Secondary School Certificate *tawjihi* in the West Bank were published in the local press July 27. 13,464 out of 13,604 students sat for the final exams: 7326, or 54.4 percent, passed. The breakdown was 87 percent passed in science, 40 percent in arts and 60 percent in business.

The results were announced in a press conference at the Ramallah office of the Israeli military liaison officer in charge of education and was attended by Mohammed Zuhdi Ghazala, the chairperson of the Exams Committee, and Muti' Abu Hijleh, the director of the committee.

Ibrahim Suleiman, the Arab director of the education department in Ramallah, told *Al Fajr* that the success rate is not high. He added: "I need to study the results over the next two weeks and then formulate my conclusions."

Isma'il Othman, the headmaster of al-Bireh's Jadideh School, expressed disappointment with the results. He expected higher marks for his students.

July 28 local newspapers commented on the result in editorials. *Al Fajr* commented: "If we assume that 60 percent of the students pass the exam, and our universities and higher institutes absorb nearly 3000 students, and about 1500 students manage to enter Arab or foreign universities, then there will be about 3000 students left without any chance of entering a university, higher institute or finding a job. If we add the 40 percent of the students who failed the exam, then we have about 7000 students who have no chance of work or higher education.

"Since we have been under occupation for 17 years we can see that there are tens of thousands of young people living amongst us without work or a chance for higher education. This is one of the most complicated problems facing us."

Al Sha'ab commented: "Today, high school students start their search for places at universities or higher institutes and a new stage of suffering begins.

"The last few years witnessed a decline in the number of students from the occupied territories who are accepted by Arab universities. Rumania and Greece are accepting as many of our students as the Arab countries.

"Our students have never been a burden. On the contrary, they are good students. If Arab financial support to the steadfastness of the people in the occupied territories has diminished, the question of accepting our students in the Arab universities is of great importance. Therefore, all efforts should be made to implement it. Congratulations to our students."

Anti-nationalists Loot Dheisheh's Youth Centre

Unidentified people broke into the headquarters of Dheisheh camp's youth centre July 29 and stole sports equipment.

The vandals entered the centre, which was closed two years ago by military authorities, by breaking a rear window.

In 1982, Israeli authorities closed the centre and have refused to reopen it despite the residents' repeated appeals. Israeli authorities claimed that the UNRWA Social Youth Centre administration members were anti-occupation activists.

The youth centre notified the director of UNRWA and made a formal request to him to intervene with Israeli authorities and to ask them to reopen the centre.

Several attacks against national institutions and nationalists have taken place in the camp over the last month. A 65-year-old Dheisheh resident, Hassan Mana'a, was attacked and injured in the camp July 14 and a Molotov cocktail was thrown earlier at Salah Abed Rabbu, the chairperson of the youth social centre.

Dheisheh residents believe that this kind of terror against national institutions and nationalists will continue and that Israeli authorities plan to control the camp by harassing its nationalists.

After expelling the families of three men July 20 from the Dheisheh camp who assaulted and seriously wounded Mana'a, one nationalist had this to say to *Al Fajr*: "Bats are working now under cover of darkness to harass residents of the camp."

BZU Festival to Include 25 Troupes

A month-long artistic festival opened at Bir Zeit University August 1 with a gala event attended by West Bank dignitaries and East Jerusalem-based diplomats. Opening events included speeches by the various festival organisers and a short presentation by the participating groups.

Twenty-five Palestinian theatre, dance and singing troupes are expected to participate in Bir Zeit Festival '84 — the first wide-ranging festival of its kind in the occupied territories. The festival, organised by the university's student affairs office, student council, administration and Bir Zeit municipality, includes a model Palestinian village where local traditional crafts and folklore are exhibited. Also exhibited in the village are various posters, part of an international poster contest, and paintings by local Palestinian artists. Traditional Palestinian food is being served hot from *taboun* ovens to visitors.

Prior to the festival opening, which was presided over by Sheikh Sa'ed al-Din al-Alami, a press conference was held at the university and festival organisers explained the aims and goals of this unique event. Abd-al-Latif Barghouti, Bir Zeit Vice President for Academic Affairs and the head of the festival committee, told journalists that the festival aims at "creating a cultural atmosphere which reflects the national identity of the Palestinian Arab people." Barghouti said that the festival hopes to help in the development of the Palestinian artistic identity which has been suffering under a campaign to obliterate it.

Acting Bir Zeit mayor, Ibrahim Awadallah, said that he hopes the festival will be the first of many. He called upon local residents to support the festival, calling such support "a national duty."

Bir Zeit student body President Samir Sbeihat said that all groups involved in the festival had worked hand in hand to make it a success. Sbeihat said that BZU students have helped in the publicity campaign throughout the occupied territories, have worked on the model village and have organised to keep order throughout the month-long festival.

Taisir Masrieh, director of the festival, said that cash prizes will be given to the two winners in theatre, dance and music. The international poster contest winners will also be awarded cash prizes.

Settlers' Sewage Wrecks Old City Homes

Three Palestinian families who live in eight small rooms beneath the militant Birkat Avraham *Yeshiva* are suffering further harassment from students who refuse to repair a severe sewage leak into the families' rooms. The settlers have threatened the families with forced eviction in the past and have a history of violence in the neighbourhood.

"The smell of excrement is suffocating our children," Aref Abu Sbeih, 50, told *Al Fajr*. He pointed to his kitchen ceiling where urine drips through the whole ceiling and falls like rain. Abu Sbeih said that on July 29 raw sewage from the school began leaking over the families' heads.

In an attempt to solve the problem, Abu Sbeih and his neighbour, Zein Abu Rajab, met settlers from the school and asked them to stop. The settlers claimed that the sewage system is broken and that the families must share in repair costs.

Mazhara Abu Sbeih and Lama Abu Rajab filed a complaint to the police July 30. The police told them that they should share the repair bill with the settlers. Mazhara Abu Sbeih told the police that her husband works as a lavatory cleaner and earns only IS50,000 a month which has to feed a family of eight.

Lama told the police that her husband is crippled and the family live on income from their insurance policy. The two women argued that the settlers alone must pay for repairing because they are responsible for the damage. The police promised to send an engineer to make an estimate of the damage but insisted that the three families, Abu Sbeih, Abu Rajab and Abu Sneineh, must share in the cost of repair.

Najeh Abu Sbeih, 18, said angrily: "They levy all kinds of pressure to force us to leave our miserable rooms. Where shall we go?"

The settlers have repeatedly thrown excrement, stones and empty bottles at the families and they have also offered them money to leave the rooms. The settlers plan to transform the area into a larger Jewish settlement.

2 Resistance Fighters Sentenced to 25 Years

Lydda military court sentenced two Palestinian youths from a Nablus area village to 25 years in jail July 26 on charges of planting bombs in Petah Tikva and Kfar Saba in 1982, and membership in an illegal organisation. Mohammed Kak and his cousin Mufid Kak, both 23, were accused of planting five bombs in Israeli towns within the 1948 borders. Only one of the bombs went undiscovered and exploded in a bus stop in Petah Tikva.

The military prosecutor charged that Mohammed and Mufid Kak are 'militaristic' persons who received training in Lebanon and planned to perform 'acts of terror' against civilian targets with the intent to cause serious harm. The prosecutor concluded that they must be given long prison terms. The prosecutor noted that Mohammed Kak had joined Fatah in 1982 and fought against Israeli invasionary forces at Beirut Airport.

At the end of the court session, the military judge summarised the indictments made against the Kak cousins and concluded they were two dangerous persons in spite of the fact that violence was averted. Before issuing the court's verdict, the Kak youths were asked to comment, but they refused. Mohammed and Mufid Kak were then sentenced to 25 years in prison.

Kach Disrupts Um Al-Fahm Press Conference

Meir Kahane, leader of Kach, and his followers disrupted a press conference organised by Um al-Fahm village council at the Press Club in Tel Aviv August 1. A heated argument broke out in the hall where Hashem Mahamid, head of Um al-Fahm village council, was talking to Israeli TV.

Israeli police intervened and arrested two of Kahane's followers, along with Doron Wilner and Rawhi Qassem who had attempted to remove Kahane and his followers. Kahane and his followers had begun making sharp noises to disrupt the interview.

In spite of Kahane's intrusion, a press release was distributed which included an invitation to a demonstration in Um al-Fahm August 4 against Kahane and the phenomenon of fascism. The press release said that anti-fascist forces, Knesset members, intellectuals and prominent political figures will demonstrate against Kahane, whose threats are not confined to Arabs but undermine the entire Israeli society.

Hashem Mahamid said that Kahane's threats are a caution light. He pointed out that Nazism started with one person and within a few years covered all of Germany.

Mahamid demanded a law prohibiting fascism. He also demanded that the Israeli ministry of education ban racist books and literature which give a false and racist image of Arabs, and make a positive change in racist curriculums.

Tawfiq *Haj* Awad of Um al-Fahm village council said that residents will prevent Kahane and his followers from entering the village. He added that Arab residents of Arabeh, Sakhnin and any village will fight Kahane and his followers if they attempt to intrude into their villages. (Translation: Al Ittihad, August 2, and local press)

Tawil's Testimony Contradicts Officer's Alibi on 1980 Bombings

The elected mayor of al-Bireh directly contradicted the statement of an Israeli military officer currently on trial for complicity in the 1980 car bomb attacks on leading figures in the West Bank.

Ibrahim Tawil, the elected mayor of al-Bireh, testified in Jerusalem district court July 26 as a prosecution witness in the trial of Captain Aharon 'Roni' Gila and Major Shlomo Leviatan. They are accused of providing information to the alleged terrorists and of failing to warn their superiors of the plans to sabotage the cars. Gila is also accused of failing to warn the Druze sapper of the bomb which blinded him.

The attacks against Tawil and two other West Bank mayors were committed by members of the Jewish terrorist ring. Separate car bombs maimed Bassam Shaka'a and Karim Khalaf, the mayors of Nablus and Ramallah, and blinded the Druze sapper, Suleiman Hirbawi, as he approached Tawil's garage to investigate.

Tawil supported earlier testimony by Hirbawi about the whereabouts of Gila when the blast occurred. Tawil told the court that Hirbawi was alone when he approached the garage where Tawil's car was parked, in contradiction to Gila's statement. Gila said he had gone with Hirbawi when the bomb exploded. Gila's defence lawyer tried to establish that his client had no knowledge of the location of the bomb and thus was unable to warn Hirbawi.

In his testimony, Tawil said he learned about the two explosions in Shaka'a's and Khalaf's cars when he was in his office. He contacted his family and told them to leave the house immediately. Then he left to visit Khalaf in hospital. Israeli authorities contacted him and asked him to return home immediately because they wanted to examine his car. At the front of his house, Tawil met Gila and Hirbawi. Hirbawi examined Tawil's wife's car, but found nothing. Tawil then accompanied Gila and Hirbawi to the house of one of his relatives where his car was parked.

Tawil said Hirbawi went alone to the side of the garage and looked through a window. He asked Tawil to come and asked him if everything in the car was as he left it. Tawil, noticing nothing unusual, said it was. Hirbawi and Tawil went back to the road where Gila was standing. Then Hirbawi went again towards the garage door. Tawil told the court: "Gila and I stood in the same spot where he had stood before he went to the window with Hirbawi. Gila and Tawil were standing 10 or 15 metres away when the bomb exploded. Tawil ran to the other side of the road and fell to the ground. Gila took refuge in a hole in the ground. After the dust had settled, Gila and Tawil lifted up Hirbawi and put him into a passing ambulance.

Later on the same day, the Jeruslam district court ruled in favour of the release of Leviatan and Gila, but they remained in custody since the Supreme Court was set to hear an appeal by the prosecution against the district court decision.

Ibrahim Tawil, a pharmacist by profession, was ousted from his post as mayor in April 1982. The order of dismissal was served by Gila.

MUKHTAR DISMISSED FOR SUPPORTING ABU DIS LANDOWNERS

A *mukhtar* of Abu Dis, Issa Jaffal, was dismissed from his position by Israeli occupation authorities August 1 because he refused to encourage landowners in the village to drop a legal suit against the confiscation of 2500 dunums of their land.

Jaffal was summoned to the Bethlehem military governorate August 1 where he was ordered to stop protesting against land closure in the village. When Jaffal refused, military authorities confiscated the stamps and seals of his office and his military-issued identity card. On July 13, two days after settlers invaded Abu Dis land and set up a tent settlement, Jaffal sent a protest letter signed by landowners to the Bethlehem military governorate protesting against all campaigns of land confiscation in Abu Dis since 1970. (Translation: Al Quds, August 2, 1984).

Kach Thugs Attack Bakery Workers

The night of July 28, Abed Abu Madieh, a Beduin resident of Rahat, was working in a bakery in the town of Netivot, *Yediot Aharanot* reported July 30. According to him, three Jewish youths came in and said to him: "You must bow down to us, piece of Arab dirt. We are Kahane's people!"

The Beduin youth went to the telephone to call the police, but meanwhile the three youths left the bakery, and the police refused to come. Two hours later, at about 3am, the three Kahane thugs returned to the bakery.

This time, Abed Abu Madieh was there with his two brothers, aged 22 and 20. The three thugs tried to take bread and, when Abu Madieh tried to prevent them, he received the reply: "Shut your mouth, stinking Arab! You should remember, we are Kahane's people!"

According to the Beduins, the three thugs attacked them and beat them severely. In the fight that followed, all those involved were injured. A policeman from Netivot police station arrived and, when more police arrived, the whole group was arrested.

Yesterday, at the Soroka hospital in Beer Sheba, where two of the Beduin brothers have been admitted, their father, Mohammed Abu Madieh said: "I pleaded with the police to let me take my two children to hospital. They did not agree. They only let me take them to Soroka in the morning, even though the three Kahane thugs were sent for a check-up the same night. If this situation continues, we will become worse than Kahane!"

A spokesperson for the Naqab region police, Superintendent Moshe Hen, did not take the matter seriously. He said: "From our investigations it has become clear that a fight broke out between Beduins working in a Jewish bakery and Jews who came to buy bread. We do not know of any link between the fight and politics or parties. If the Beduin have complaints against the police, they can make a complaint and the matter will be investigated."

One of the brothers said yesterday: "We will continue to bake bread for Netivot residents and to distribute it as usual. We will go to work prepared and if they come again and try to disturb us — we will return their blows!"

The Dawn

AL FAJR

AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

Publisher:
Paul A. Ajlouny
Editor:
Hanna Siniora

Tel: (02) 281035
P.O. Box 19315
East Jerusalem

Telex no.s:
Jerusalem: 26467 omar il
Washington: 64677 omar uw

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Terror Atmosphere

July 30 the Israeli military authorities closed Najah University in Nablus for four months. They claimed that an exhibition (part of a Palestine week held at the university) contained inciting material. The Israelis backed their protest with the exhibition of some axes and chains (part of a display of agricultural equipment), two plastic models of automatic rifles and paintings symbolising the Palestinian struggle.

All the expropriated and destroyed material expresses important factors testifying to the existence and the suffering of the Palestinian people since the initial Zionist idea of creating a homeland for the Jews in Palestine. The Zionist ideology itself was based on the assumption that the Palestinian people does not exist. Their famous slogan "Land without people for a people without land" was well fed in the minds of ignorant people to the extent that they and the society they led began to believe it. Any assertion of Palestinian national identity, and in fact any action by the Palestinian people, is a solid reminder to the world that Zionist ideology has based itself on falsehood. Only in that context can the repressive measures by the Israeli authorities be viewed. In that context, too, the whole idea of the Israelis denying the basic rights of the Palestinian people and all the contingent terminology that follows can be viewed.

But historic events are greater than the wishes of a few individuals, whether they be Zionists, Imperialists or any other form of reaction.

The harsh action taken against Najah University was meant to be a message to more than the 4000 students, faculty and employees of the university. The Israeli ministry of defence has launched a post-election war on Palestinian-ness in the occupied territories. Its four-month legacy to Najah is only a beginning to the terror atmosphere it hopes to foster for other national institutions as well. But you cannot terrorise the people into denying themselves or their national identity.

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Palestinian-Americans Choose Good Business Over Good Politics

by Maher Abukhater

Palestinians in the United States live in a dilemma which surfaces every time there are presidential elections. The problem stems from whether they are a Palestinian first and an American second — or the other way around.

As American citizens, the economic status of the Palestinian-Americans is directly dependent on the general situation of the American economy and polity. When this immediate self-interest conflicts with concern for the welfare of their ancestral land and the aspirations of their compatriots in the motherland, the internal struggle becomes more intense.

In a recent discussion with Palestinian-Americans in an average-sized southern town, the majority said they would prefer an American administration under Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party to stay in office for four more years. Reagan is favoured in spite of his more than dismal record towards the Palestinian people. While Palestinian-Americans and Arab-Americans in general were very critical of the Israeli invasion of south Lebanon they still feel that, politics aside, their business interests are better served by a 'tough, conservative Republican administration' like that of Reagan.

Mosque built over a New York coffee shop: Arab-American interests grounded in US business.

Sadly enough, many of the Palestinian-Americans did not even consider Jesse Jackson's bid for the presidency as a Democratic Party candidate. Rev. Jackson was the only US presidential candidate who openly and strongly expressed support for the Palestinian right to struggle for liberation and freedom, knowing that this may have cost him the elections. But, for many Palestinian and Arab-Americans, Jackson was seen as too liberal and therefore a threat to the politically and economically conservative American society. His views on the future and his overall foreign policy were seen as secondary to his views on domestic policies.

With the exception of the majority of American Jews who show more, if not equal, concern for the interest of Israel than for their native country, most ethnic groups who are recent immigrants tend to be more enthusiastic American flag-wavers than white Anglo-Saxon protestants.

Reagan's staunchest supporters in the southern regions of the US are Hispanics. Yet his policies towards central America are that of a bloodthirsty warmonger who disregards the lives of millions of poor civilians there in order to maintain a dominant American role.

Cuban and Nicaraguan exiles, at odds with the leftist political systems in their respective countries, applaud while Reagan declares war on their people in order to install a puppet regime in these countries that would work only for US interests while terrorising the rest of the population. They prefer dictatorial regimes like those in El Salvador, Honduras and Chile, rather than nationalist governments like Sandanista Nicaragua.

A Nicaraguan landowner who lost most of her inherited wealth after the Sandanista liberation of Nicaragua made her home in the US even before Somoza was ousted. She fervently wishes, she says, that Reagan would bomb all the 'Communists' in Nicaragua even if it means destroying the whole country, leaving her nothing to reclaim and "blood up to the knees," as she put it.

This is not intended as a comparison between Palestinian-Americans and right-wing exiles from Latin America or any other region. However, this trend among first and second generation ethnic minorities in the US could be attributed to their feeling of inferiority augmented by the development level of their societies compared to the industrial Western nations. Many of these recent immigrants left their homelands, disgruntled with the social, political and economic systems there, in search of greener pastures. To do this, they seize nationalistic symbols as their own in order to erase their image of 'immigrant.'

For Palestinian-Americans, the issue is very complex. While they are deeply concerned for the future of their families still live, they feel they must swallow and support an administration, Republican or Democratic, that is at the same time determined to obliterate their roots, culture and history. While Palestinian-Americans are busy tackling this issue in search of a solution that would resolve their dilemma,

> "Palestinian-Americans feel they must swallow and support an administration, Republican or Democratic, that is at the same time determined to obliterate their roots, culture and history."

OPINION

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

The Real Terrorists

The Prime Minister has not ruled out granting a pardon to members of the Jewish Terror Organisation and Science Minister Yuval Ne'eman praised their action against the elected Palestinian mayors. The detainees have been transferred to a special youth prison in Tel Monde where they enjoy *yeshiva* services and the Minister of Interior has already visited them in their new prison.

Backed by the highest Israeli political echelons, the terrorists' supporters act openly, petitioning in markets and bus stations for their release and collecting tens of thousands of dollars, transforming the trial into a stage for publicising their racist ideology.

The close collaboration between the government and the terror network aims at one political goal; to complete the Israeli annexation of the occupied territories by expelling its inhabitants, and liquidating the Palestinian peoples' demand for national independence in its homeland. The Alignment not only ignores the war against Jewish terror in its election propaganda, but competes with the Likud in condemning the PLO.

George Schultz, the American Foreign Secretary, gave full backing to Israeli policy in his speech during the Conference Against Terror in Washington. "The terrorists attacking Israel," stated Schultz while referring to the PLO, "are the enemies of the US." However, Israeli and American pretentions to stand for law in their crusade against the PLO as a terorist organisation are unfounded. Those who violate international law, time and again, and base their policies on imposing accomplished facts by the use of force and ignoring international laws and humanitarian standards, are the US and Israel themselves.

The PLO is the national liberation movement of a people whose land was expropriated and now lives under occupation. It is recognised by more than 100 countries as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and the legitimacy of its struggle, and that of the Palestinian people, waged for national independence has received recognition in UN resolutions which were adopted unanimously with the exception of the US and Israel.

The PLO announced its support of an international conference, with the participation of all the parties involved, under the sponsorship of the UN, aimed at solving the Middle East conflict. The US and Israel rejected the UN Secretary-General's appeal to convene such a conference. The US and Israel have ignored all UN resolutions relating to the Middle East and the Palestinian problem.

Israel and the US collaborate in arming and aiding fascist dictatorships in Latin America, and in supplying military and economic aid to racist South Africa, which has been condemned by the International Community.

The real terrorists are those who shoot at innocent people, violate international law, and aim at destroying the national existence of a whole people. They are threatening world peace. The real terrorists are sitting in Washington and Jerusalem, and peace will not be reached without a determined struggle against their policies. (Translation: Derech HaNitzotz, July 1984)

Eitan's Anti-Semitism

(Former Israeli chief of staff) Rafael Eitan's arguments made July 5 can be summarised into three points: 1)An Arab mentality exists known as 'murderers of Danny Katz, abusers of corpses etc;' 2)A Western logic exists known as the Jews, 'those who don't do such things;' 3)Where is the (hypocritical) writer and where was the (hypocritical) peace camp in some of the situations the writer details?

It became clear that Eitan, when he came to argue, simply hadn't done his homework. I saw the mutilated corpses in the 1948 war as a young *nurse in the Haganah during the siege of* Jerusalem. The conclusion — that in every nation there are psychopaths and perverts who exploit fighting for their own needs, and that conclusions should not be based on perverts. The 1948 war was justified, not because there were also psychopaths among the Arabs, but for totally different reasons, and the Palestinian problem is not justified because of the sadists among us.

It is worthwhile to remind Eitan what the ETZEL did in Deir Yassin (has he read the report of the investigating officer of the *Haganah*, who arrived on the scene an hour after the massacre?)

Ben Gurion appointed, in two separate cases at least, special examiners of deeds of abuse and atrocities committed by soldiers in the course of the 1948 war, deeds for which some leaders said they "were ashamed to be Jewish."

And what can be said about the settler at whom an onion (not a stone, an onion) was thrown by a small Arab boy? He caught the boy and broke his arm.

Does Eitan forget that soldiers are being tried for rape (yes, rape) and other crimes committed during the war in Lebanon?

However, homework should still be done. Orly Dubi, in contradiction with what the candidate of Tehiya wrote, was raped and murdered, but not by an Arab. A pure Jew is being accused of this crime. Also, Oron Yarden was not murdered by an Arab. It was a Jew (with Western logic?) who, some years ago, raped a three-year-old girl and killed her with a wrench, one of the greatest horrors we have ever known.

In total contradiction with the selective images of hatred distributed by Eitan, maintenance of a human face and criminal acts is not divided according to the article of nationality but according to totally different particulars, and it will not be to his credit if he obstinately continues with this view because every criminologist and beginner statistician will present him as ignorant within two minutes. Incorrect data leads to incorrect conclusions. And still this doesn't have any connection with the political situation in the Middle East. We are not fighting because of the percentage of crimes.

Eitan asks: "Where was Shulamit when, because of a 'mistaken' estimation, the death of all the Libyan plane's passengers was caused? Was she trying to analyse mentality, logic, philosophical theories? Why didn't she cry out then?"

What can we do? Following the downing of the Libyan plane, Shulamit published an essay called "Guilt and Responsibility" that exactly analysed these things, and the essay is still recommended reading in some universities and, I was told, also in the air force. Homework should be done, Eitan. Mainly in the Western culture.

Eitan continues to tell us shocking things: that it was not only in the case of Pinto that he acted against the court martial's decision, and is guilty, but that there were x number of cases. Indeed, this is like the judge in a popular folk story who, when accused of taking bribes from the defence and distorting the trial, shouted: "It's not true. I got the same amount from the prosecution and I gave a just sentence." I promise Eitan sincerely that, if the public learns about further cases in which he granted amnesty to men who should not have been pardoned, that same public will condemn him without hesitation and without any examination of party affiliation.

Eitan is busy now campaigning for a party and it is hard for him, apparently, to understand that hundreds of thousands of people in this country have no party interests when they ask for justice and responsibility. In his series 'Hypocrates, where were you?' Eitan asked high school students: "Where were all these demonstrators after the Yom Kippur war? Why didn't they demonstrate then? Because the Alignment was in power!" At the end of the Yom Kippur war, the high school students were five years old, but anyone who was not five years old remembers. The demonstrators were on the streets and near the Prime Minister's offices, tens of thousands of them, with soldiers and officers who had returned from the fighting, and demanded the dismissal of the defence minister, Moshe Dayan, and Golda Meir's resignation, neither of them exactly Likud. Those demonstrations started the big tradition of protest demonstrations in the country that continues to date, without any connection to the question of which party is in power. Out of the 400,000 demonstrators, I didn't see just a few Likud members.

Rafael Eitan

Peace Now will not hesitate to demonstrate against the Alignment if it becomes clear after its coming to power that it is making a dangerous mistake. Then why present to people party-political 'fathers' who are not theirs? And how much can high school students be pulled by their nose?

Eitan has fought against the Arabs for years and he is among the few people for whom it is hard to differentiate between fighting and personal images of hatred, the source of which is apparently somewhere else. However, times are changing. It is definitely possible that, without damaging in the slightest the abilities of the Israeli army and Israel's deteriorating ability (both were damaged severely in the war in Lebanon), we are entering a period of political options following which we shall start to live together with the Arabs in this region in normal conditions. I am speaking about options. Do men like Eitan have a part to play in this era?

During the Yom Kippur war, I was in the Nafah camp a short time after the fighting and I heard about the courage and devotion of Commander Eitan when the first Syrian tanks were near the fence. Will he be able to display these talents in constructing the process of peace, perhaps the hardest and most complicated task that Israel is facing? Or perhaps he will remain for more tens of years, like the Japanese soldier who stayed in the jungle long after the war ended, and one day will emerge and not know that the war ended long before and that the era simply passed him by.

Eitan concludes: "Many victims fell here (and more will fall) because we didn't distinguish between the logic of Western culture and the mentality of Arab society." If this is what he says in school, he promises the continuation of bloodshed for many more generations and the educational system should refute these sayings immediately. The Israeli-Arab conflict is not a conflict between Western logic (people?) and Arab mentality (cockroaches? abusers of corpses?) but it is a deep disagreement between two peoples, each of which has a just argument, and the question is not how to reach a definite justice, a justice of a cemetery, but a benevolent justice that will enable the continuation of existence. There are people among us who were eyewitnesses, as little children, to the pure Western logic used by the Germans, a very Western people, in Europe, and since then all they care about is that this Western logic should not be used again, neither against us or by us. For this we shall be killed but not commit the sin.

Only a little detail remains, Eitan. Why don't you respond on the matter of mixing the olive oil? Did you mix the olive oil of your crops with olive oil of the same composition that is not from your crops? Or maybe such impure matters should be silenced, without any hypocrisy, of course, a week before the elections, in which by accident you are also a party candidate? (Translation: Yediot Aharanot, July 13, 1984)

In sharp contrast to the disintegration of democratic props on the Israeli scene, the PLO has unified and strengthened its democratic institutions in response to its internal crisis. Asaf Adiv analyses the PLO reforms in a commentary in the Israeli progressive monthly *Derech HaNitzotz*.

Aden Unity Agreement Democratises PLO Structure

Yasir Arafat

George Habash

Nayef Hawatmeh

The Palestinian people and its supporters focused their attention, at the end of last month, on the capital of South Yemen, where the main components of the PLO held decisive talks about the organisation's future and its political and organisational course. It was the third round of talks between representatives of Fatah and the Democratic Alliance of the four organisations of the Palestinian left. Two previous rounds were held in Algiers.

A Historic Agreement for the Unity of the PLO

The agreement provides a base for the reactivation of the PLO's institutions and the emergence of the Palestinian organisation from the difficult crisis it is undergoing.

At the end of the talks, Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad), representing Fatah, announced that: "this agreement forms a new stage in the course of the Palestinian struggle. It consolidates the unity of the PLO and the Palestinian struggle and its legitimate institutions." PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat welcomed the agreement, calling it "an historic agreement."

Political Summaries

At the time of this writing, the full political and organisational summaries of the Aden meeting had not been published but Palestinian sources and a public statement issued by the participating organisations clearly point out its character.

The public statement emphasises guarding PLO unity and that the PLO alone is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The public declaration turns to the Palestinian masses, the Arab world and the supporters of the Palestinian issue all over the world to support and reinforce the unity and agreement that was reached, which secures "the patriotic course of the PLO and its struggle until victory." "We are sure," the public declaration states, "that this agreement opens the way for the unity of the revolution, secures its nationalist, anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist line and the independence of national decision-making."

The Aden agreement unequivocally rejects the Camp David accords as well as the Reagan Plan and any plan which infringes the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to a national state. On the question of relations with Syria, Jordan and Egypt — an issue on which disagreement inside the PLO erupted — the agreement determines a number of important principles on the course of the PLO in the near future. Relations with Syria, which underwent a deep crisis last year, were determined as a strategic alliance and their renewal was determined as an urgent necessity for the Palestinian struggle and the Arab struggle in general. This resolution brings to an end tendencies that tried to exploit the Syrian intervention in the Palestinian struggle in order to cause a rift between them and to disclaim any Palestinian responsibility for the confrontation between Syria and Israel supported by the United States. It is obvious that the victories of the Lebanese national movement, aided by Syria, and the ousting of the Marines from Lebanon played a leading role in defeating this isolationist and anti-Syrian trend in the PLO and facilitated the agreement on this question.

As for relations with Egypt — the limits of the collaboration between the PLO and Egypt, as determined in the 16th session of the PNC in Algiers, were reaffirmed, as was the condition for renewing relations with Egypt, its negation of the Camp David accords. The controversial visit of Yasir Arafat to Egypt and his meeting with President Mubarak was criticised and defined as 'a personal deviation' of Arafat. The decision also puts brakes on a tendency that strived to merge the PLO into a new pro-American axis in the area that was to revolve on Cairo and Amman.

The PLO and the Palestinian people were the first to suffer the disastrous consequences of the Camp David accords and the American-Israeli attacks that followed. The opposition which argues against separate agreement with Israel and jumping on the American wagon remains as strong as ever in the ranks of the Palestinian organisation.

On relations with Jordan — their scope, character and political basis — definite limits were set. The resolution reaffirmed the resolutions of the PNC which stressed the exclusiveness of the PLO as representing the Palestinians. It defined the Fez and the PNC resolutions as the political basis for cooperation between the PLO and Jordan.

Organisational Decisions — Reinforcing Democracy

A number of procedures concerning the functioning of leading PLO institutions were determined. The key phrase characterising them is collective leadership. The agreement determines that in the future, three deputies will be elected. To the chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, a General Secretariat will be established to manage the daily organisational, political, military and financial matters in a collective manner. Even before the resolutions in Aden, it was announced that, for the first time, a representative of the Palestinian Communist Party (PCP) will join the Executive Committee of the PLO. It was also decided that the Central Council, a mediating body between the PNC and the Executive Committee, will, from now on, be elected directly by the PNC and its authority will be widened to control the Executive Committee.

Agreement on Arafat continuing as chairman of the Executive Committee was presented by various elements as the most important element of the resolutions and a great political victory for Arafat. This blurs the principal organisational issues that were debated, concerned with the functioning of the PLO as a front composed of different organisations and the bureaucratic and undemocratic trends that have spread in it.

Agreement that Arafat will continue as PLO chairman expresses, above all, the recognition by the Palestinian organisations that Fatah is the largest organisation and, as such, has the right to determine the leadership of the organisation. Yet this recognition comes with organisational changes whose essence is: to incorporate other bodies in the Executive Committee; to give the Central Council wider control over the Executive Committee; to have control over the Executive Committee chairman. These steps are an important achievement in the struggle against corruption and individual action. They recognise them as a phenomenon which should be fought against and they reinforce the elements of democratic functioning, collective leadership and responsibility inside the organisation.

Widening the Leadership

One of the most important components of the Aden agreement is the call for widening discussions and the appeal to organisations and personalities, known by their affinity to Syria, to participate in the preparations for the 17th session of the PNC.

Fatah rebels, the PFLP-General Command of Ahmad Jibril, the Popular Struggle Front and Saiqa are united in a coalition called the Alliance for National Salvation (ANS) which opened discussions with the Democratic Alliance of the four organisations of the Palestinian left a few weeks ago. Their goal is to form a political basis for a unanimous convening of the PNC. The ANS was invited to participate in the forecoming session of the leading bodies of the PLO.

In spite of the bitter feeling due to the internecine fighting in Tripoli, the appeal and negotiations with the ANS express the recognition of all PLO components of the existing need of the organisation to find a way to unite its ranks.

The Palestinian Democratic Alliance (PDA) played a central role during the Aden talks in the negotiations with the ANS concerning renewal of relations with Syria. The PDA, which includes the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Palestine Communist Party and the Front for the Liberation of Palestine, is a new force in the Palestinian arena. At its launch, two months ago, it presented a document in which it called for: reconsolidating PLO unity on the basis of a national anti-imperialist line; resuming relations with Syria; and reinforcing the alliance between the PLO and the progressive forces in the world, led by the USSR.

The PDA rejected the call to substitute the leadership of the PLO and acted energetically to mend the cracks within the organisation. It can claim significant credit for the fact that the negotiations reached a successful end.

A Fateful Crossroads

The historic agreement on the unity of the PLO provides a solid foundation from which to advance the Palestinian issue, which, with the Arab world, is facing a fateful crossroads. The murderous war in Lebanon and the Israeli unilateral actions in annexing the Golan Heights, Jerusalem, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip place a challenge before the Palestinian people and the Arab world.

The unlimited American aid to Israel and the political and military support to the Israeli expansionist and annexationist policies foiled the political plans of Arab reaction that relied on American pressure for Israeli withdrawal.

In the Arab world, there is growing consciousness that, in the face of a hostile imperialist position, unity is the only guarantee for advancing Arab interests, for solving the Palestinian problem and for reaching a political solution to the Middle East conflict. The strategic change in Lebanon, due to the blow suffered by the Americans, and PLO unity on the basis of a clear nationalist anti-imperialist line create the appropriate conditions to enforce Syrian-Palestinian relations and Arab unity on a wider scale.

Real progress on this plan will be decisive for advancing the Palestinian struggle and will influence the level of stability of the internal unity in the PLO. (Translation: Derech Hanitzotz, July 15, 1984).

The Israeli election results surprised many people, both Israelis and non-Israelis. The expectations, based on polls carried out before the elections, that the Labour Party would win with at least 10 seats more than the Likud, did not materialise. Not only was there no big win, but neither of the major parties, Likud or Labour, achieved a decisive result in the elections.

Many political observers believe the election results of the eleventh Knesset reflect a deep political crisis within the Zionist establishment which continues to ignore the reasons of the crisis it faces. Instead of probing the roots of the problems, it engages itself in futile marginal discussions and tries to show that neither of the two big parties failed to achieve a decisive victory because they failed to explain their policies well enough in the election campaign.

In fact, the complex situation which emerged after the elections is the result of a long-standing policy characterised by the use of violence against others and heavy expenditure on militarisation. Both Likud and Labour have the same policy, and their attempt to conceal the philosophy on which this policy is based makes the situation worse.

Complex Situation

The results of the Israeli elections — which came as a surprise to those with an interest in the replacement of Likud by Labour, believing incorrectly that Labour would be better — created a complex situation within the political Zionist establishment. This situation resulted from the fragmentation and disunity which crystallised following the military failure suffered by Israel in the last few years in its war against the Palestinians and Arab countries. The fragmentation has been reflected in social polarisation, splits within parties and the sharp differences between them.

In the present situation, the 13 small parties which won 34 seats altogether will determine the future of any government, unless there is a national coalition government. Among these small parties are five religious and extremist parties which advocate the Zionist idea of a 'greater Israel.' Between them they have 18 seats. Moreover, Kach, the most extreme religious-national movement, has one seat, and its leader Meir Kahane, who calls openly for the expulsion of Arabs from Palestine, will be sitting in the Knesset. Another extremist party, Tehiya, increased its strength in the Knesset from four to five seats.

Extremism within the right wing has increased considerably and this has caused worry and fear in the dovish Israeli camp, which finds itself in a minority without any real effect on the general policy of the Israeli establishment. Some activists of this camp, such as Labour's Yossi Sarid and others, stated that they are not prepared to sit in a government which includes Kach or Tehiya.

Political observers believe that if the extreme religious parties join a Likud or Labour-led government, they will blackmail either of the two major parties and impose their extremist policy, which will lead to more wars and expansionism.

The election results show the Israelis do not see any essential difference between Labour and Likud. Israelis did not choose Labour, despite the economic and political crisis, the failure of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the 400 percent inflation rate. Instead, they chose the small parties which stand to the left of the Labour Party and to the right of Likud.

The Labour Party failed to make any essential difference between the two parties.

For the Likud, the main issue is a 'greater Israel,' while the occupied territories, the economic situation and the involvement in Lebanon are secondary issues. The Likud feared that Labour would release part of the occupied territories, under the framework of Allon plan. The Likud had fought for 30 years for a 'greater Israel' when it was the opposition party. During the latest election campaign, Likud concentrated on Labour's readiness to talk with King Hussein about a solution and continued to horrify the Israeli public with stories of how the Arabs and the PLO are intent on the destruction of Israel, and that if Labour wins, it will endanger Israel's security.

The complex divisions in the new Knesset are a reflection of the fragmentation and extreme social polarisation in Israeli society which can be attributed to the economic crisis and Israel's aggressive expansionist policy. Awad Abdel Fattah sees nothing surprising in the election results, in the following report.

Below, Amos Kenan, writing in *Yediot Aharanot*, sees the elections as an Israeli call for a guardian to manage the affairs of a minor: the people of Israel.

Elections Mirror Israel's Deep Crises

use of these crises, and specifically the Israeli army's involvement in Lebanon. This is because its campaign competed with the Likud in the extremist, chauvinist and expansionist policy which denies the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Labour did not present a distinct programme markedly different from Likud's and this is why Israelis did not see

The first Kibbutz, Degania Aleph, in the Jordan valley. "Both Likud and Labour have the same policy, and their attempt to conceal the philosophy on which this policy is based makes the situation worse."

Roots of the Crisis

The crisis of the Israeli establishment, clearly reflected in the election results, is not how to form a government but how to solve the acute economic problem facing Israel. If a national unity party is formed, which is the last option for the two parties, the thing which can be achieved is to throw off the influence of the small parties, especially the religious ones whose aim is to impose an Orthodox Jewish character on Israeli society, an unpopular move amongst many Israelis. The stoppage of El Al flights on Saturdays is an example of the influence of the religious parties.

The roots of the crisis lie in the insistence of the Zionist leadership to implement an ideology whose essence is expansionism and colonialism. The continued occupation of Arab land, the use of violence against others and the settlement policy all require large and imaginary budgets. The effect of this aggressive expansionist policy is reflected in Israeli society and has created social problems for Israel such as organised crime and social polarisation between *Sephardi* Jews and *Ashkenazi* Jews. This social division, as well as the economic crisis resulting from the militarisation of the Israeli economy, have mobilised various social groups to form their own political parties to solve these acute problems. This is why there were 15 lists elected to Knesset, in addition to as many who failed to win seats.

As long as the Zionist establishment implements its expansionist ambitions in a 'hostile' environment and ignores the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people there will be no end to its crisis.

Israeli protest "There must be another way.'

The Vote of Contempt

The people which resides in Zion created for the first time since the day of establishing the state the biggest political revolution: it dismissed itself from rule.

The people voted against the Likud and against the *Ma'arach*. Against Shimon Peres, against Yitzhak Shamir, against 'Ezer and against Raful. Against all the small ones, against all the big ones and against all the medium ones. It voted against the war and against peace. Against a *Halachaic* state and against a state of law. Against all the problems, but also against all the solutions.

The people voted against the leadership. Against any leadership. And this, of course, means, that it voted against self-government.

The leadership, like in every election, was brought to the people's judgement. However, the voter decided to withdraw from the job of judge, claiming itself biased. The judge listened to the judge's argument that it was biased and accepted it. So the voter also voted against a government of national unity.

The voter announced that there is no national unity because there is no nation. The voter announced that it is not worth representing itself and ruling itself because it is a minor.

Because it is a minor, there is no escape from the lone solution: to appoint a guardian for it. The guardian will be an appointed committee for Israel that will manage the affairs of the minor that resides in Zion. The appointed committee may be appointed by the US Senate or by the UN. It will act under a high commissioner. The light for the people is over. The session of the big contempt has started. (Translation: Yediot Aharanot, July 25, 1984)

Israeli journalist Yoel Marcus, writing for *HaAretz*, asks what motivated the electorate when faced with a choice between 'a pestilence and cholera'? Israel is far along the road of political instability, he concludes.

The Coming of Government by Anarchy

The funeral of Sa'ad Haddad, attended by Labour and Likud alike: Yitzhak Shamir, in the front row, and Shimon Peres, in the second row.

"There is a God," someone cried in the Likud headquarters in front of television cameras when pollster Hanoch Smith announced the possibility of equality between the Alignment and the Likud. Is there a God? There is no guarantee of this. In any case, if there is one, he was surely on holiday Monday July 23 because the election results look like an expert's work on behalf of Satan rather than the creation of the Almighty.

From all the possible results and predictions — this was also the 'day of atonement' for the surveys — fate had chosen the worst of all: the Likud indeed was dealt a blow — and a fall of 20 percent is indeed a blow — but the Alignment didn't win. The Likud lost power but the Alignment did not pick it up. As if this was not enough, 13 small parties will be added to the two big ones — a complex situation that has never existed in any previous Knesset. It is possible to guess how the 15-list Knesset will look and also possible to shiver when thinking of what is in store for us in the coming weeks. Neither of the two big parties will be able to establish a government except by a partnership of a minimum of 7 to 9 small parties. Even this would only give a narrow majority, a government that would lean in the end on a flimsy base. Any possible way out from this burnt goulash seems worse than the next — and when the offer of choice is between a pestilence and cholera, it is very hard to notice God's finger here.

Rivers of ink will pour out about the reasons why this happened. There are two schools of thought: one maintains that the cause is in the demographic changes and in the socio-political revolution that partitioned people into two camps — the Ashkenazis to the Alignment and the Oriental (Arab Jewish) sects to the Likud and its satellites. And because the sons of the Oriental sect already constitute a majority in the state, then this is what happened and this is what will happen. The other school, to which I am inclined, provides a political-psychological explanation of the election results and doesn't necessarily contradict the first school, but compliments it. According to the second school, there are two very clear reasons for last week's election results:

a) A large part of the public has not yet absorbed the fact that their personal welfare is mutually exclusive of the catastrophic economic situation of the state. The talk about the 400 percent inflation rate apparently was nothing to them except a meaningless statistic. Many citizens saw that the situation was good for them personally — they travelled, gluttonized, bought, entertained, their personal possessions accumulated, many young couples got housing — and the Likud succeeded in creating the impression that the Alignment would grab all this from them.

b) The Alignment didn't succeed in telling the public — both because of its own failure in leadership and because of its desire not to frighten people — that a severe economic crisis exists which endangers the existence of the state. Nor did it transmit the feeling that the Alignment is an alternative. It competed with the Likud under the slogan "we shall not take" instead of clarifying to the public the severity of the situation. If the message is "we shall not take," the public could think that the "we shall not take" of the Likud is more credible.

In other words, the thesis that was accepted, also by *HaAretz*, that the election date should not have been moved forward before the public understood the extent of the economic failure, has been shown as completely correct. The advance of the elections by an entire year proved to be a serious mistake for TAMI and especially the Alignment. As the results show, a part of the public nevertheless understood the need for a change of government. However, not to a sufficient extent to make Likud totally fall, like the Alignment did in 1977. However, this thesis has not totally died. It is perhaps worthwhile for the Alignment to give up the dubious honour of establishing a government which it will not be able to rule and which will depend on the blackmail of seven partners. Moreover, it is doubtful whether the idealists within the Labour Party will continue when the fire of criticism against Shimon Peres' leadership opens up. Therefore, it is wiser to let the Likud compose the government. A narrow government headed by the Likud with nine brides in tow will not be able to function anyway.

As the public didn't choose a clear alternative, it should be given the opportunity to taste a little bit more of the Likud's rule — until it becomes indubitably clear that the individual's consumer items are no longer immune in the face of unpreventable economic collapse.

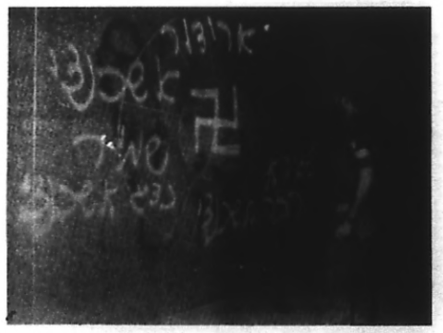
However, this is a very dangerous gamble. This is toying with the fate of the state, which could, by this, begin a dizzying economic collapse. And in the situation so created, it is not the Alignment which will reap the profits but nationalism, that is starting to lift its head, as ever the opiate for the unemployed and the disabled. People like Sharon, Rafael (Eitan) and Kahane might play the tune for the state in which

Palestinian resistance. The roots of the crisis lie in the Zionist policy of expansionism and colonialism.

those who demand a 'strong hand' will multiply. In these circumstances, it is possible that there will be no escape but to establish a government shared only by the big parties and headed by the Alignment. However, the way of establishing this is not paved with flowers. They will not come to it by speaking of this but only after each side has travelled its private *via dolorosa* in attempting to establish a government it can head and reached a no-through way.

Such a broad government is justified only under two conditions: first, if it is agreed, that the larger government aims at healing the economic crisis and nothing more; second, only if it initiates legislation that will advance a two-party regime by increasing the minimum percentage necessary to form a government or by the change of the electoral system — in order to ensure that when the partners part, the decision will be clear and unequivocal and that the party that wins will also be able to rule.

A primary analysis of the election results anticipates not only hardships in establishing a new government, but raises the fear of deterioration of our internal stability. Not only because of an inflation rate of hundreds of percent, but also from a political aspect. We are joining the categories of states whose foundations of democracy have weakened and in which chaos rules because of instability and political weakness. If on the day after the elections people didn't seem happy, and many, among them Likud members, were walking with a feeling of fear of the future, that time they were right. After the vote-counting night, each one of us who lives here and doesn't want to emigrate from the country has good reasons to walk with 'butterflies in the stomach.' (Translation: HaAretz, July 25, 1984)



Graffiti in Jerusalem reads: "Aridor Ashke-Nazi." People are partitioned into two camps — the Ashkenazis to the Alignment and the Oriental (Arab Jewish) sects to the Likud and its satellites.

Rabbi Kahane says his victory march through the Old City is just the start of his programme which includes the release of terrorist Richter and an 'emigration office' in Um al-Fahm. *Al Fajr*'s Said al-Ghazali reports on Palestinian reactions to Kahane's Nazi SS imitations – while Israeli journalist Nadav Shragai gives an Israeli view.

Kahane Stages 'Terror Theatre' in Jerusalem's Old City

One day after he gained his mandate – and immunity – in Knesset, Meir Kahane, head of the Kach extremist movement, and 100 of his supporters organised a rampage at noon July 24 through the streets of the Old City of Jerusalem. They terrorised Palestinian shopkeepers in the Bab Silsila, Souq Bashoura and Bab al-Khalil quarter. Kahane's supporters carried pistols, wore yellow shirts printed with the Star of David and shouted racist slogans while they marched, such as "Arabs Out." Palestinians emptied the streets and the intended atmosphere of terror prevailed. Said Salhi, a souvenir shopowner in the Old City, told *Al Fajr* that a tourist who shouted at Kahane that he was "like Nazis" was beaten by Kahane's followers. According to Salhi, one of Kahane's supporters went for his pistol but was stopped by Kahane who was walking at the front of the so-called 'victory march.' Many Jerusalem shopkeepers blamed the Israeli army and police for not interfering to stop the march. Shopkeepers said that soldiers, who usually abound in the Old City, arrived after 10 minutes of the rampage. According to *Davar* daily, a police officer has been appointed to investigate Kahane's actions.

In an attempt to calm shopkeepers, activists for a Jewish religious movement called *Netivot Shalom* distributed an apology 'message of brotherhood and peace to the Arabs of Jerusalem' in which they told Palestinian residents of the Old City: "We wish to remind you that Kahane does not represent the majority of the Jewish people, nor does he represent our *Torah* or the Jewish religion." Many shopkeepers expressed their belief that extreme fascist trends have increased in Israeli society, especially in view of the fact that the Kach movement won one seat in the Knesset elections.

Um al-Fahm

In reply to Kahane's pledge after the Israeli elections that he would open emigration offices in Palestinian towns in the Triangle, Um al-Fahm Village Council Head Hashem Mohammed, No 5 on the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality List, issued a statement July 25 from the village council protesting Kahane's fascist statements. The council said that Kahane had attempted to force his way into Um al-Fahm at the end of 1982 but that his attempt was in vain. "Residents of Um al-Fahm will teach him a good lesson," the statement counter-threatened. The council also demanded that the Israeli legal adviser bring Kahane to court for inciting against Arabs and warned the Israeli public of the effects and consequences of Kahane's incitements on Israeli society. Representatives of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, the Progressive List for Peace, Yossi Sarid from Labour and members in Mapam denounced Kahane's statements.

MK Tawfiq Toubi, of the DFPE, is filing a complaint against Kahane: "If Kahane organises a 'victory march' in the Old City of Jerusalem, imitating the Nazi SS infantries, turns vegetable stands upside down, calls for the expulsion of Arabs and at the same time threatens and embraces border guards, and the Israeli authorities do not say, 'Stop, this is an illegal demonstration,' this means that the authorities are cooperating with them." Toubi said, "I cannot sleep at night when the Israeli people permit Kahane and his gang to take the law into their hands."

Kach's Rise and Fall and Rise Again

Elections	Votes
1973	12,000
1977	4000
1981	5000
1984	25,907
	(21,600 needed for Knesset seat)

A Kahane supporter told reporters after the election results were in, "Now we will start real action, to reach a situation when all Arabs not loyal to the state of Israel are expelled." The 50-year-old Kahane, an American emigre and former head of the Jewish Defence League in the US, made unsuccessful attempts in 1977 and 1981 to enter the Knesset.

The programme of the Kach movement, whose emblem is a fist hoisted high, calls for all possible means for dismissing Palestinians from the occupied territories, transforming the Knesset into a synagogue and demolishing al-Aqsa Mosque.

In April 1982, Alan Goodman, a Kach supporter, opened fire indiscriminantly on Palestinian worshippers at al-Aqsa Mosque. Two persons were killed and 60 wounded in the shooting spree by Goodman, soldiers and settlers. In March 1982, supporters of Kahane took refuge in Yamit settlement in the Sinai and threatened to commit collective suicide if the government did not stop the withdrawal operation from the Sinai. Yehuda Richter, No 2 person on the Kach list, is serving a two-and-a-half-year sentence for the armed ambush of Arab workers travelling near Ramallah. Six were wounded in the attack, for which three Kach supporters were indicted. Kahane himself was imprisoned several times, but immediately released, on charges of incitement to violence against Arabs.

In Jerusalem's Mea Shearim quarter, huge posters are pasted on the walls saying "Zionists are not Jews, only racists." Rabbi Moshe Hirsch, spokesperson for the anti-Zionist Neturei Karta movement, told *Al Fajr* that it would be best not to speak about people who want others to talk about them, but, since Rabbi Kahane has been brought into the limelight, he will be dealt with as other cults which threaten Judaism and the Jewish nation are dealt with.

Hirsch said: "He has been accepted into a group which has practised racism not only in rhetoric, as Kahane has been doing, but in practice against the people of a land which it dominates and which is not its own."

Hirsch called Kahane a circus clown who was ousted by the Agudat Haraboni (union of Orthodox rabbis of the United States and Canada) for his incitement of the nations, in violation of the principles of the Jewish faith.

(Translation: From the Arabic press, July 28, 1984)

Kach Condemned on all Levels

Rabbi Kahane and 200 of his supporters, drunk with victory, marched through the narrow streets of the Jerusalem Old City market July 24. The first line of the marchers wore yellow T-shirts with a black fist bearing the proud picture of Kahane, who will become a Knesset member in a few weeks. The hoarse throats shouted "Arabs out." Long-haired Americans marched with the sons of developing towns, Hatzor (Galilee) and Dimona (Naqab), wearing black caps. At the Western Wall they joined hands and cried, "Jerusalem, Temple Mount." Then they burst into loud song: "And there we shall sing a new song with greater emotion."

It was impossible to mistake the fear and hatred of the Arabs. They stood in their shop doorways, hands joined and eyes telling all. Business stopped for a moment. The quick among them withdrew their foodstuffs and souvenirs from the doorways. Others collected the broken pieces later – not many, but there were some.

A tourist speaking broken Hebrew who, red-faced with anger, shouted at one of the marchers "You are a Nazi," was brutally kicked and quickly disappeared. Police or army were not on the spot. Then the convoy passed through the Armenian quarter and climbed up to the private flat of one of the activists for a victory drink. The people were already tired but Meir Kahane blew a new spirit of life into the gathering and with a rousing chorus of "Because the Lord has the kingdom and it rules the peoples" he inflamed the small room.

At the wall, after the thanksgiving prayer *Misha'Mishkan* the 'hungerstriker from Yamit' lifted Kahane on his shoulders and Gad Swertman, the movement's head in Jerusalem, said enthusiastically: "Rabbi Kahane sat alone all night in a religious school studying. Today, when we came to the wall, border policemen hugged us. Rabbi Kahane told them that their lives will be easier now. My dream is to get Yehuda Richter, our No 2, out of prison. There is still a chance; the army loves us."

This Richter stood up and emptied an M-16 magazine into the windscreen of an Arab workers' bus near Mazra'a al-Sharqiya a few months ago. He was sentenced to two-and-a-half years imprisonment and the state appealed against the light sentence.

Meir Kahane has repeatedly promised to establish a Kach branch in Um al-Fahm and to open an emigration office there for Arabs. He promises to pay lots of money to those willing to uproot themselves, but, after a month of fair play, the system will be changed and 'there will be trucks.'

Contradicting the Jerusalem police statement July 25, there were not 200 marchers but only several score. When the marchers were on their way from the wall to Jaffa Gate, there were no policemen around. Also, the few policemen standing in the front of the Qishle police station saw the singing group leaving Jaffa Gate towards the Armenian quarter, shouting inciting slogans, but did nothing. The *HaAretz* correspondent was the only journalist who followed the entire march.

No Arab merchants submitted complaints about the damages caused to them. The *HaAretz* Galilee correspondent reports that the appearance of Kahane on television July 24 and his call for expulsion of Arabs produced an angry response from Arab residents. Tawfiq Toubi of the Democratic Front called for legislation to prohibit racist incitement and said that the election of Kahane to the Knesset is a "sign of shame to Israeli democracy." MK Mohammed Wattad (Alignment-MAPAM) said, in response to Kahane's threats about opening offices in Um al-Fahm, that if Kahane dares to go to Um al-Fahm or to any other Arab village, he will encounter tens of Knesset members, who also have parliamentary immunity, with thousands of Jewish and Arab citizens who will "put him in his place."

The PLP's spokesperson responded to Kahane's statement: "Kahane is Kach. *Kach* in Arabic, in baby talk, means shit. This is what Kahane is," he said. Abd al-Wahab Darawshe, an Alignment MK-elect, responded by saying he would block the entrance to Um al-Fahm or any other Arab village with his own body against Kahane.

Also, West Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek severely condemned the expressions of Kahane and said all people should be aware of the danger Kahane constitutes. "Kahane may become a symbol of Judaism and Israel in the eyes of the world and this will destroy the understanding which nations expressed to our moral right as a state and our moral power as a nation." Kollek added that Kahane constitutes a treasure to those who hate Israel. He called on all parties and the state rabbinate to condemn Kahane.

The West Bank Jewish settlement councils expressed their reservations about Kahane and separated themselves from Kach and its activities.

In the Galilee villages of Tamra and Sakhnin and in Shafa 'Amr township residents noticed preparations of Kach's members for settlement in their villages. The Kach spokesperson denied any knowledge of this. Local residents are considering their response in case the rumours prove true. (Translation: Ha-Aretz, July 26, 1984)

Beit Mustafa

by John Vargo

Abu Mustafa sat on a rocky hillside and waited as dawn approached the village of Um Qura. Below was the home he had always known and though his eyes were dim he saw every detail, every stone. He noted every change during the years. There Khalil, in anger, had hit the wall with a hammer. There, near the window, he himself had driven a spike to hold a flower pot for Um Mustafa but the plant grew heavy and pulled the spike out of the wall, leaving a hole. What will become of this home, this land, he wondered.

Abu Mustafa saw the figures in brown that swarmed around the house but his old eyes ignored them. He concentrated on the patches of colour, the embroidered dresses of the women of his family and his neighbours. That one, he knew by the pattern of her dress and from each small, familiar movement, was his wife. He knew no one else in the world so well and in his mind he saw her as when she first came as a bride to the house. They had been lucky to start so well with property and with love. Some people said he was too old for her but they were too busy to notice. They were happy working in the fields together and happy making a family and throughout all the years they had never had an argument or a fight that was not a good story or a joke on the next day.

Closing his eyes Abu Mustafa saw his eldest son, Mustafa Khalil, although he was not there and would not be there. Abu Mustafa often saw his son this way, moving gracefully around the house, always doing the chores and always young. He was young when he left and for his father he remained that way. Sometimes a letter would come, soiled and wrinkled from being hidden in a shirt or a shoe but they were few and short and precious. Only once a photo came, of a man not a boy, proud and hard, showing his rifle and his uniform. Abu Mustafa was pleased with the picture but never thought of Khalil so rigid, so formal. He remembered his son alive and moving, moving around the old house.

Abu Mustafa smelled the exhaust of the trucks parked in his garden. He wrinkled his large, old nose and snorted. He did not like the smell of machines. The wind shifted slightly and the dead and ugly odour of oil was replaced by the pleasant and familiar smell of the fields. It was the scent of things growing and ripening, of life beginning and continuing, the rough perfume of the land. Ibrahim, his second son, had rolled in the green grass of spring like a lamb and carried the smell with him. He had a strong feel for the land and learned sooner than the others when to sow and when to water. When his work was done he wandered through the rows of crops, inspecting the plants and feeling for moisture in the dirt. Abu Mustafa had been sure that Ibrahim would stay to plow and to reap, to take over the land and to be a farmer. But he went to the university and studied about oil and now he was away in a desert country. Still, he was a good son. He married a girl from the village and they had five children and each month money arrived as proof that he remembered and loved his parents. But he did not visit and the children had never seen their grandma and grandpa and sometimes Um Mustafa cried in the night because in her old age she had no children around her. Abu Mustafa wondered how his son felt living in a place that was all sand.

Abu Mustafa tasted the smoke from the trucks that lingered in his mouth and he spat. He could only taste the bad things now and the good things tasted better in his imagination than on his tongue. His wife and the girl still cooked for him and cooked well but the sharp, pleasant sensation of spice in his mouth had dulled and he added more hot peppers to his food than he once did. Zahra had been a good cook, as an oldest daughter should be, but now she cooked for her husband in Amman and the government wouldn't let her cross the bridge, not even to visit her family and show off her three children. Um Mustafa cried for them, too, and prayed that Zahra would give her many more grandchildren but Abu Mustafa knew better. Her husband was an engineer and had modern ideas, ideas that didn't leave room for many children. Um Mustafa was embarrassed that she had produced only five children but God had not given her more and the old man was content that each had lived to grow up.

Abu Mustafa heard the shouts of the men mingled with the wailing of the women as they scurried from the house with blankets and food and small furniture. By her long hair and straight back, he recognised In'am, who he still thought of as his baby because she was the youngest. They had spoiled her, no doubt, but she had overcome the weakness of her parents to become a modest and cheerful woman who stayed home and wore the traditional dress of the village. *Ay*, thought Abu Mustafa, it will take a real man to capture that one with her good looks and her sharp humour. And his biggest task would be to overcome the objections of her mother. He was proud of his boys but, though he never spoke the words, he knew in his heart that he loved the girls just a little more for did they not need more support in a world they did not control and were they not more beautiful? Abu Mustafa worried. Was it quite right to leave the land to a daughter? She would marry, of course, and they would have to build a house but perhaps that was good, for these were new times and they would need new beginnings.

Abu Mustafa felt the worn rock beneath his rough hand. Below him the front door slammed. The uneven battle was over as the soldiers pushed the women away from the house. He rubbed the palm of his hand against the worn stone, smooth from years of being used as a bench. Rocks, he thought, rocks are always trouble for farmers. There are no fields without rocks. They're heavy, they strain muscles, cut hands and chip plows. Clear a field of them and they just come back like bad luck. They are God's curse. Only children love rocks. They think they are toys for games, for building, for throwing. Tawfiq had loved to throw rocks. Khalil did the chores, Ibrahim roamed the fields and Tawfiq, the youngest, threw rocks. He threw them in the air, at birds, at trees, at other rocks, at dogs and sheep and sometimes at other boys. His friend, the skinny one, and he had played together and threw rocks together. At first they had contests to see who could throw straighter, harder and truer. Later they threw at each other in a dangerous game that left them bleeding but still friends. They were tough boys and never complained, taking their defeats and victories in silence. Curse all rocks, thought Abu Mustafa.

Tawfiq had thrown one rock too many. Not at his playmate, who was a student now in a foreign country, not at a friend. No one told him to do it and there was no crowd to incite or excite him. There was no single reason why he did it. He was a rock-thrower and found that the only weapon his anger had was a rock. He threw straight and hard and true and hit a soldier. They caught him and now he was in prison and the soldiers and the truck radios screamed in guttural, threatening voices, in anger caused by a little rock.

Abu Mustafa felt the arms of his wife about him and felt her weight and a wetness on his cheek. She had run up the hill staggering with grief and blinded with tears. He patted her back. It was broader now than when they had married. She was a thin girl then and weak but she had developed strength and she grew along with her family. He moved her head to lie on his chest and over her shoulder he saw everyone, both soldiers and neighbours, crouch behind large rocks and in the shallow gully that bordered his fields. One man walked backward trailing a snake of wire until he was behind the *tabun*, the rounded oven that cooked the bread that Abu Mustafa had eaten every day of his life. Silence settled on the farm, broken only by the soft sobbing of his wife close to his ear. Abu Mustafa was sad for his wife, for his children and for his grandchildren. Especially for the little ones who would never know this house, this home, as he had, and his father and his father before him. They would never know the safety and joy of this house, its strength and its limits, never know what it really meant to have a home.

The man behind the oven pushed down on a little box.

Abu Mustafa was surprised when the thick stone walls did not blow out as he had expected but collapsed inward. The roof hovered for a moment without support before crashing unevenly down, straight lines mangled and rigid geometry twisted into an indescribable shape. He saw the smoke billow out like a skirt and the dust rise up in a great puff. He felt the earth shake beneath him, more sickening than an earthquake. He smelled the explosives, unpleasant, burnt and offensive and in his mouth he tasted a bitterness that was more than the chemical flavour of the smoke. He was deaf for a moment and then the ringing started in his ears and he heard the vibrating voice of his wife as she wailed the traditional sound of death. She wailed for her home, her family, her life.

Abu Mustafa bent his head under the weight of the wailing. He hid from the pain and despair he could not voice. He felt that the wail signalled the end of his life and of his family but beyond the full sound of his wife's mourning came another, higher note. It was his daughter trilling the call of the wedding, a call of celebration, not defeat. The daughter rose in volume to meet her mother and the two age-old melodies met in a new and terrible cry. Um Mustafa faded and her daughter's voice carried on alone across the fields and hills, alone and unafraid, in defiance and in joy.

Abu Mustafa knew that his daughter and her children would inherit the land.

(Translation: Al Fajr al-Adabi, No 46)

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

The closure of Najah University for four months, the afterwave of the Israeli elections and the latest Soviet Middle East initiative were the main stories in this week's local press.

The Israeli military government's decision to close Nablus' Najah University and the reactions of the national and academic community were given prominence.

Local newspapers gave detailed reports on the various negotiations going on between the Israeli parties in an attempt to form a new government.

The latest USSR initiative for the Middle East based on the Brezhnev plan, with the PLO's endorsement, received top coverage in the local press.

The Hard Facts

Though the Israeli elections are a pure Israeli affair, and though the Likud and the Alignment are two sides of the same coin to us, yet we are interested in the results to the extent that they are a slap to those reactionary Arab regimes and the deviated Palestinian right, who counted on the Alignment winning the elections.

Those speculators were waiting for the Alignment to come to power so they could start carrying out their role to liquidate the Palestinian cause and bring about imperialistic domination to the area. We also believe that the results of the elections underlined the failure of the voices inside which counted on an Alignment victory.

However, the fact is that the Likud and the Alignment have common goals, though their methods may differ slightly. These goals are to serve Israel through expansion and settlement, and by rejection of Palestinian national rights and the refusal to recognise the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Another fact that became obvious is the public Israeli support for extremist parties.

AL MITHAQ
July 24

Kach's Knesset Chair

What does Meir Kahane's success in reaching the Israeli Knesset, the highest authority in Israel, mean? His success was not, in fact, a result of the election process. In the past, some forces in Israel objected to the participation of Kahane and his Kach gang in the elections. This pushed the Rabbi to appeal to the High Court, which allowed him to participate in the elections, and this is what happened.

Does this mean Kahane's attitudes and racist statements against the Arabs are completely legal?

Does this mean things that happenened secretly in the past and which the authority opposed sometimes and viewed cautiously at other times, have become normal now, since the person who embodies and symbolises them now occupies a seat in the Knesset?

Does this mean that the Jewish terror underground will soon become an open organisation that sows fear and terror in the hearts of Arabs?

So many questions are raised all of which lead to the big question: What next?

The only answer to this question is quite clear. We are will not be intimidated by Kahane and his gang. His voice *in the Knesset will* be worthless so long as it is besieged by the brave voices seeking a just and comprehensive peace for the peoples of the region without racism and without terror.

AL FAJR
July 27

Racism Wins in Israel

With Tehiya winning a fifth seat at the expense of the Alignment, the government crisis deepens and the racist anti-Arab and anti-democratic circles will be more confident. No one in Israel who advocates democracy can conceal his deep concern over the extent of racism and fascism that have reached the Knesset.

The inhabitants of the occupied territories feel, as we do, that they are facing the greatest threat. We praise these people in the occupied territories who realised the danger and forgot all their marginal differences so as to counter the impending threat. We see hope in every Jewish voice and every Jewish movement that stands up against racism. Our combined effort will be able to contain this epidemic.

At the same time we condemn the indifferent attitude of the US accompanied by assurances that the US military and political aid to Israel will continue regardless of who is in power. The matter not only concerns our presence in our homes but it concerns peace in the Middle East.

We therefore call upon all Communists and youths and Front supporters to rise above our differences so that we may face the grave danger together. We should not allow anyone to drive a wedge into our ranks.

Kahane's threats to Tawfiq Toubi and others and his threat to invade Um al-Fahm are just the beginning of the racist activities that were practised before in Rashidiya, Ain al-Hilweh, Sabra and Shatila.

If it is our fate to confront the legality bestowed upon racist murderers, then we will accept our fate whatever the sacrifices. For Toubi and Um al-Fahm will not be alone in confronting the racist murderers.

We are defending ourselves, our homes, and achievements — our homeland — defending our children and just peace and democracy.

AL ITTIHAD
July 27

Arab Universities' Role

The results of the General Secondary School Certificate, *tawjihi*, were published yesterday. Those of our students who passed the exam are starting a new phase of their life. It is full of concern and wonder.

First of all, failure in the exam does not mean the end of the world. There are still many chances for work and success. But those thousands who passed the exams, how could they pursue their higher education when the Arab countries impose restrictions on admission to their universities?

Our local universities cannot absorb thousands of high-school graduates, though they have to do their best to accept as many of the graduates as possible.

At the same time, Arab countries are required to appreciate and understand the difficult situation we are suffering from under occupation. They should accept more of our students in their universities because this is the true spirit of solidarity with the inhabitants of the occupied territories.

AL QUDS
July 28

Kahane-The New Media Star

Meir Kahane is the star of Israel today. He is the focus of the newspapers and radio and TV networks. He is the one who declares that he will perform prayers in al-Asqa Mosque in preparation for its removal together with the Dome of the Rock. He is the one who declares that he will propose a bill to the Knesset regarding the worst racist legislation.

At the same time, voices are raised demanding that this crazy rabbi be silenced. Some of these voices are sincere because they have been warning against this facist trend. Other voices are untruthful, especially those coming from parties of the ruling Israeli establishment.

The Kahane phenomenon is the result of the prevailing atmosphere and ideology and its continuous practices.

All this gave Kahane the chance to spread his poison without being ashamed or deterred.

AL SHA'AB
July 30

Soviet Peace Initiative Rejected

The Soviet initiative for a comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East aroused world and Arab reactions. No one was quick to reject it out of hand except the US and Israel.

The Soviet plan calls for an international conference attended by the PLO, Israel, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, the US and the Soviet Union.

The USSR declared at the same time that the situation in the Middle East is highly explosive and calls for a just solution.

The Soviet initiative comes in the context of world efforts to convene an international conference. It is also an official declaration of the failure of Camp David, the Reagan Plan and all solutions sponsored by the US.

Israel rejected the Soviet initiative. The Arabic *Al Anba* Israeli paper attacked the Soviet Union, accusing it of being biased.

We believe also that the illusion that the Labour Party will receive the 'peace' efforts has been shattered.

The Soviet initiative is the only sure way for peace based on the right of the Palestinian people to an independent state alongside Israel, on the rejection of Israeli occupation of Arab territory and on security guarantees for all states in the region, including Israel.

The Israeli rejection is actually a rejection of a just peace and of recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to freedom and independence.

AL ITTIHAD
July 31

'Hakawatis' Beaten by Police Interrogators

"A Jerusalem police investigator beat me severly during interrogation screaming 'I will teach you what democracy is'," said Radi Shehadeh, a member of the Jerusalem-based theatre troupe al-Hakawati. Shehadeh gave his statement while receiving treatment in an East Jerusalem hospital for injuries sustained during the beating.

On the morning of August 1, three members of the internationally-known troupe were summoned to police station. The three, Ibrahim Khalayeh, Radi Shehadeh, and Edward Mu'allem, are all from the Galilee.

According to Shehadeh, the police asked questions about the theatre and its financial resources. The three refused to be interrogated without their lawyer. They said interrogators ignored their rights and tried, instead, to interrogate them with no lawyer present. Two were beaten when they failed to answer questions. The three were later released, only to be summoned again the next day for interrogation together with four other members of the troupe.

A Jerusalem police spokesperson said the three actors were interrogated about renting the theatre hall for political activities. He claimed they had rented the hall July 31 to an East Jerusalem workers union which organised a political meeting. He said if the three lodge a complaint, the police will look into it. (Translation: Yediot Aharanot, August, 1984)

Officer Charged With Blinding Gaza Resident

A charge sheet was presented in military court July 27 against Major Hassan Adiv, who put out the eye of Gaza resident Mohammed Hassan Abu 'Amra.

At the beginning of May this year, Abu 'Amra built a house without a licence. He was arrested and beaten about the face by Major Adiv, and this beating caused the loss of an eye. Major Adiv is charged with grievous bodily harm and with unfitting behaviour. Another soldier, Sergeant-Major Halabi Ahmed, was also charged with beating Abu 'Amra.

During the first session, the doctor who treated Abu 'Amra's eye, Abu 'Amra himself and the military governor of Gaza appeared as prosecution witnesses.

Mohammed Abu 'Amra

Former MK Nuri al-Uqbi, head of the Society for the Protection of Beduin Rights, which publicised the affair, was present at the trial. Defence attorney Ravah ordered al-Uqbi to leave the court or face arrest. Al-Uqbi was finally permitted to enter only at the end of the trial on instruction of the president of the court. (Translation: Al Hamishmar, July 7, 1984)

TNT Threatens Hussein

The Jewish terrorist organisation Terror Against Terror (TNT) recently threatened to kill Jordanian monarch King Hussein and his family if his government continues to harm Israel. *Agence France Presse* in Amman received a letter July 30 from TNT, posted in Austria, which stated that the terror group wants to impose the death penalty on those who plot to harm Israel, regardless of their nationality. The letter added, "We will not submit to any plan which aims to surrender lands to the Arabs. We reject the head of the Israeli Labour Party, Shimon Peres, and other Israelis who want to negotiate with King Hussein."

TNT demands that King Hussein give back the lands he 'illegally occupies.' The letter threatened that if King Hussein does not do so, then the land will be taken back by a military operation and the imposition of a collective death penality.

The Jewish extremists hold that parts of Jordan are included in greater Israel because the Jewish tribes of Gad, Reuven and half Manasseh lived in Jordan during biblical times.

Graves desecrated in Lydda by TNT

Beduin Protest Demolition

Two border guard policemen, who were escorting inspectors of the Society for the Protection of Nature, were slightly injured by stones thrown at them when they went to the Aljian Beduin tribe in the Naqab to destroy an illegal building.

According to *Yediot Aharanot*, July 7, everyone agreed that police would arrive in the afternoon to identify the stone-throwers and the building would be dismantled by its owners by the weekend.

continued from page 1

Beitunia

During the week, League members continued to harass students, throwing stones and firing at the dormitories. They climbed on to the roof of the girls' dormitory July 31 and tried to break the door of the stairway. The next morning, students discovered a foreign substance, possibly poison, in one of the water containers. They sent a sample of the water to a laboratory to be analysed.

July 30 more than 700 members representing various student blocs in several West Bank universities and colleges, and representatives of trade unions held a solidarity conference in Aqsalani building, where they expressed full support with the students. Several speakers called on the students to remain united in order to confront the Leagues' harassment. They also called on Beitunia residents to stand by the students against the Leaguers.

Calendar of Events

WHAT'S MISSING? WHAT'S HAPPENING?

Visitors and locals buy *Al Fajr* Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly for news of the occupied territories. Many important and enjoyable events pass by unnoticed simply because there are no avenues of advertisement available to announce them. *Al Fajr* will change this by offering FREE advertisement space to groups, institutions and individuals who want to let people know what's happening.

Ads must be no more than 25 words in length and be at *Al Fajr* English offices no later than Wednesday each week to be published the following Friday.

August 1-30
Bir Zeit Festival '84

Visit the Palestinian model village which includes: international poster contest, local art exhibition, local small crafts section and more.

Nightly shows at 8pm (public transportation available).

August 3

Al Jawal theatre from Sakhnin with *al-Farafir* play.

August 4

Bir Zeit's *Juthur* (Roots) dance troop.

August 5

Nujoom Falastin singing group.

August 7

Al-Nujoom theatre troupe from Ramallah presents *The Game of Love and Life.*

August 9

Palestinian Popular Dance Club from Jerusalem.

At the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre, Nablus Road, East Jerusalem.
Tel: 288189

August 3 and 4, 8pm

Ali the Galilean by al-Hakawati theatre (English translation available).

August 7, 5pm

Art exhibition by Taysir Sharaf. The exhibition continues until August 14.

August 9, 8pm

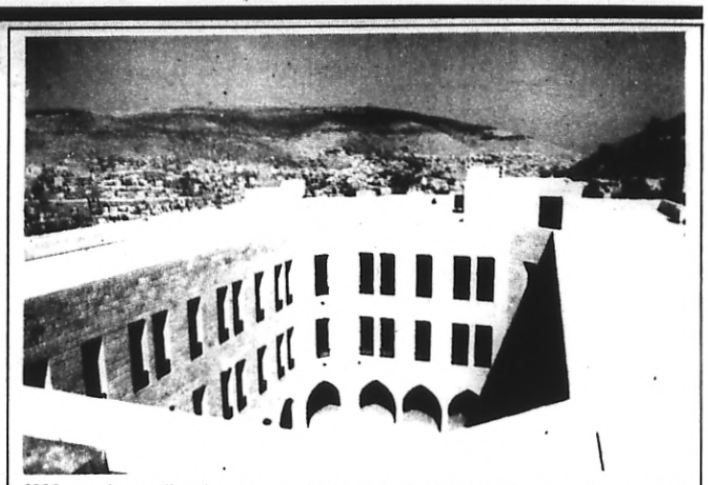
Film Club: *La Drolesse*, directed by Jacques Doillon (French with English subtitles).

The Galilee

August 4

UM AL-FAHM — Rally Against Racism, sponsored by the local council with several MKs participating, 4pm. Committee Against the War in Lebanon is organising a bus to leave from West Jerusalem's Binyaneh Ha'uma, 1:00pm.

WEEKLY REVIEW



4000 people are directly put out of jobs and school by the four-month closure of Najah University, ordered by occupation authorities July 30.

July 25, 1984

MOLOTOV THROWN AT ISRAELI SOLDIER

HEBRON — A Molotov cocktail was thrown at an Israeli soldier near Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron. An Israeli military spokesperson said no one was hurt and no damage was caused. The authorities clamped a curfew on Hebron and began searching the area. Dozens were arrested.

KACH MARCH THROUGH OLD CITY

JERUSALEM — Police are investigating the riotous march undertaken by Meir Kahane and 200 Kach supporters through the Old City. During the march, damage was inflicted on Arab shops and property. Kahane and his supporters were shouting anti-Arab slogans.

IMPRISONMENT FOR DOCTOR AND TEACHER

RAMALLAH — Israeli military court sentenced Yaqoub Mohammed Raboh al-Sul-amin, a teacher, to three years in prison plus two years suspended and Dr Ibrahim Abed al-Kader al-Maharik to two years in prison plus three years suspended for security charges. Both are from Samu' village near Hebron.

FINES AND IMPRISONMENT FOR NABLUS YOUTH

NABLUS — Military court in Nablus sentenced Assad Kayed Harb, Nidal Mahmoud Assad and Khaled Mahmoud Assad of Tulkarm refugee camp to a IS50,000 fine on charges of demonstrating. The three are between 13 and 14 years old.

IS3 MILLION TAX

AZZA CAMP - Abed al-Naser Ahmad al-Najar, owner of an upholstery shop in Azza camp near Bethlehem, has been ordered to pay IS3 million VAT (value added tax). This is the first case of taxing shops in refugee camps, which are not under municipalities or tax directories, but under UNRWA.

APPEAL TO RETURN ORCHARD

NABLUS — *Sheikh* Sa'ed al-Din al-Alami sent a telegram to the Israeli defence minister in which he said the *Qadi* (Islamic judge) of Nablus ruled, according to Islamic law, that the property of a dead Muslim should be inherited by the *Waqf* Islamic Council if the Muslim has no relatives. Accordingly, the *Waqf* directory in Nablus inherited an orchard but was surprised by the authorities' seizure of the orchard under the pretext that the deceased had no relatives. Al-Alami requested that the orchard be returned to the *Waqf* directory in Nablus.

IMPRISONMENT AND FINE FOR QABATYAH YOUTH

NABLUS — Military court sentenced Hakam Amer Hasan Bayer of Qabatyah to IS100,000 fine and two months in prison on charges of demonstrating.

LIFE SENTENCE FOR YOUTH

RAMALLAH — Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced 22-year-old Jamal Awarneh to life imprisonment on charges of assassinating the Jewish settler Yacoub Kourin in the local market in Bethlehem two years ago.

HOUSE DEMOLISHED AT DHAHRIYEH

Military authorities demolished a three-room house owned by Mohammed Salem Mustafa Swailem under the pretext of it being unlicensed.

2 YOUTHS IMPRISONED

RAMALLAH — Military court sentenced Ra'ed Issa Abu Zuluf and Elias Nasri Kheir of Beit Sahour to two years in prison plus three years suspended on charges of throwing a Molotov cocktail at an Israeli bus, and other security charges. Both are 17 years old and were arrested four months ago.

CAR THEFTS IN JERUSALEM

BEIT HANINA — Beit Hanina, near Jerusalem, has been the scene of many thefts of car parts such as mirrors, tyres and even fuel. Thieves are apparently encouraged by the pitch darkness of night because there are no street lights. Residents called on the police to increase patrols and be alert, especially late at night.

EGYPTIAN POLICE ACADEMY AGREES TO GAZA STUDENTS

GAZA — The Egyptian police academy agreed to accept Palestinian students from the Gaza Strip for the next academic year.

July 26, 1984

PLAN TO REBUILD SALAH AL-DIN PULPIT

Engineer Ra'ef Najem, the Jordanian minister of public works and a member of the committee for the renovation of al-Aqsa Mosque, stated that a plan is being prepared to rebuild al-Aqsa Mosque's Salah al-Din pulpit, which was destroyed by fire in 1969. The plan is being prepared by Jordan and Turkey. Pakistan may join it later.

SUSPECTED FATAH CELL IN JAFFA

JAFFA — The authorities arrested four Jaffa residents and charged them with planning to carry out armed operations in Tel Aviv. The four were arrested several weeks ago and were charged in Lydda military court. They are: Hamud Kulab, 23; Adel Siksak, 21; Ahmed Safouri, 24; and Nimir Kundus, 26.

They are accused of throwing a grenade at a military base April 15 and throwing another grenade at the home of Abed Kaboub, head of the Jaffa Muslim Committee January 18. The military equipment reportedly in their possession included a pistol and Israeli army grenades.

WE'LL TEACH KAHANE A LESSON

UM AL-FAHM — Following threats by the racist Meir Kahane that he would go to the village of Um al-Fahm to tell its residents to start packing and leaving, the local council held an emergency meeting to discuss the situation. In a statement, they called on the Israeli attorney general to take action against racist Kahane for incitement.

Arab residents said that if Kahane enters their quarters, they will chase him out with stones and clubs and will teach him an unforgettable lesson.

IMPRISONMENT AND FINE FOR YOUTH

JENIN — Nablus military court sentenced Kamel Mahmoud Ikmayel, from Jenin, to four months in prison and two years suspended and a fine of IS50,000 on charges of incitement and resisting the occupation authorities.

FOUR KALANDIA YOUTHS SENTENCED

RAMALLAH — Ramallah military court sentenced Rizik Subhi Shaker to five years in prison and four years suspended; Ismail Shaker al-Khatib and Hasan Mohammed Assa'd to three years in prison and four years suspended; Imak Sakir to eight months in prison and two years suspended. The court postponed passing sentence on Mohammed al-Khatib from the same group. The four men are from Kalandia refugee camp, near Ramallah.

FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF HEBRON MURDERS

HEBRON — On the first anniversary of the Hebron University incident, in which Jewish settlers shot three students dead, wreaths were placed on monuments erected in memory of the three martyrs, Su'ed al-Din Sabri, Jamal Nazal and Samih al-Amour.

PALESTINIAN SCHOLAR DIES

Palestinian scholar and historian Mohammed Izah Darwazeh from Nablus died in Damascus.

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN NABLUS ESCALATE STRIKE

NABLUS — Political prisoners at the new Nablus prison say they will escalate their struggle against prison authorities until their demands for better conditions are met. They called on public opinion in the occupied territories, in Israel and the world to support their demands.

July 27, 1984

UNIONIST RELEASED IN JERUSALEM

JERUSALEM — Israeli authorities released 'Adnan Natsheh after five months detention. Natsheh is a member of the

About 50 Israeli and Palestinian students held placards against neo-Nazi Kach leader Meir Kahane July 31. They stood at the entrance to Yad Veshem, the Israeli museum of the Nazi-inspired holocaust.

administrative body of the Food Industries Union.

FEWER PILGRIMS FROM GAZA

The number of pilgrims from Gaza decreased from 4500 last year to 2700 this year. The cost of the pilgrimage per person increased from JD250 to JD400.

OLD BUSES GROUNDED IN WEST BANK

The Israeli officer in charge of the traffic department in the West Bank notified bus owners that they are forbidden to operate buses of the 1956/57 model as of the beginning of next year.

July 28, 1984

STONING AN ISRAELI CAR

JERUSALEM — A police source said that an Israeli woman received light wounds when her car was stoned on the new Jerusalem-Ma'ale Adumim road. The police source said that a number of other cars were also damaged by stone-throwers.

RALLY IN SUPPORT OF ADEN CONFERENCE

JERUSALEM — The Hotel Workers Union and Printers Union held a rally at the trade union headquarters in Jerusalem. Speakers at the rally supported the Aden agreement and answered questions of unionists.

UM AL-FAHM RALLY

TRIANGLE — Hundreds of demonstrators gathered in the centre of Um al-Fahm to protest the racist threats made by Meir Kahane against their village.

July 29, 1984

FINE FOR TULKARM YOUTHS

TULKARM — Tulkarm military court sentenced As'ad Kayed Harb and Nidal Mahmoud As'sad, both aged 16, to a IS50,000 fine each and one year in prison plus three years suspended. The court also sentenced Khaled Mahmoud As'ad, aged 13, to a fine of IS50,000 and one year suspended on charges of demonstrating.

IMPRISONMENT FOR TULKARM YOUTH

NABLUS — Nablus military court sentenced Saji Mahmoud al-Ashkar from Tulkarm, a student at Najah University, to 10 months in prison and 14 months suspended on charges of membership in the PLO.

29 EMPLOYEES DISCHARGED FROM RAFAH MUNICIPALITY

RAFAH — The Israeli-run Rafah municipality has decided to discharge 29 of its confirmed employees, including four heads of departments. The decision will be effective as of next month.

3 ARAB MERCHANTS SENTENCED TO PRISON AND FINES

NAZARETH — Nazareth district court issued an order banning Imad Saleh Burhan of the village Tamrah, owner of a butcher shop, from leaving the country. Imad was sentenced to three months in prison and one year suspended and a fine of IS2million on charges of not paying income tax for the last three years.

The court also sentenced Mansour Nimer Mansour, 43, and Hani Suleiman, 39, from the village Jish in the Galilee, to six months in prison and one year suspended and a fine of IS4million for charges of not paying income tax.

TWO YOUTHS ARRESTED FOR STONE THROWING

JERUSALEM — Israeli authorities arrested two 16-year-old youths from al-Isawiyah and al-Tur villages on charges of throwing stones at Israeli vehicles.

BOMB NEAR HOUSE IN SHAFA 'AMR

GALILEE — A hand grenade was thrown yesterday at a house in Shafa 'Amr. A police spokesperson in the Galilee said that investigations showed that the bomb was Israeli-made. There were no injuries.

KALANDIA STUDENTS DEMAND EXAMINATIONS COMMITTEE

Students at the Kalandia Vocational Institute near Ramallah asked the general examinations committee in Nablus to look into their problem regarding the comprehensive examination. The request was signed by 50 students.

TWO YOUTHS IMPRISONED

RAMALLAH — Military court in Ramallah sentenced Imaran Mansour and Abdullah Zahran to one-and-a-half years in prison on charges of membership in an illegal organisation.

DHEISHEH YOUTH CENTRE VANDALISED

The Dheisheh youth centre was broken into and its contents, including clothes and sports equipment, were stolen. The centre has been closed by the Israeli authorities for two-and-a-half years.

July 30, 1984

KAHANE THUGS ATTACK ARABS

NAZARETH — MK Tawfiq Toubi cabled Israeli Minister of Interior, Yosef Burg demanding that the police end the assaults of Kahane thugs on Arab labourers. On Sunday, Kahane thugs attacked two Arab labourers, Nawaf Abu Madran and Saleh Abu Madran, from Rahat village in the Naqab. Both labourers are hospitalised with serious injuries. MK Toubi demanded an investigation into why police ignored repeated complaints about Kahane's provocations.

Farid Baransi from Nazareth was attacked by Kahane's loyalists, on Sunday night, July 27. This photo was taken two days after the attack.

GAZA POLICE SUMMON HASHEM AL-SHAWA FOR INVESTIGATION

GAZA — Police in Gaza summoned Hashem Atta Shawa, head of the Citrus Producers Union in the Gaza Strip, and informed him that legal procedures will be taken against him on charges of bringing money from abroad and issuing certificates from the Union to grove owners so that they may attain financial aid from abroad. Shawa told police that he had nothing more to say since his interrogation eight months ago. He was released on bail.

RACIST GROUP SEEKS EXPULSION OF ARABS FROM NAZARETH

Members of the 'Main'ah' movement in Nazareth are still trying to expel Arabs living in the city. The movement is part of Meir Kahane's racist group, Kach, and has opened an office in an Arab apartment building.

POLICE CHECKPOINTS ON ENTRANCES TO UM AL-FAHM

TRIANGLE — Israeli police yesterday erected checkpoints at the entrances to Um al-Fahm; and cars entering the village are being checked. The Kach movement threatened last week to force its way into the village to set up an emigration office.

OCCUPATION STEALS WATER IN HEBRON DISTRICT

HEBRON — Israeli occupation authorities are diverting the water allocated for Arab residents to the Jewish settlements in the Hebron area. The settlements in turn resell the water to the Arab residents at high prices.

FIFTH YEAR UNDER TOWN ARREST

JERUSALEM — Israeli security authorities summoned Zuhaira Baddawi Kamal, a teacher at the Women's Teachers Training Institute, Tireh, Ramallah, and handed her an order renewing her town arrest in Jerusalem for six months. She must report twice a day to the police station. This is the ninth consecutive six-month town arrest order on Zuhaira.

July 31, 1984

FOUR YOUTHS RELEASED

BETHLEHEM — The Israeli authorities released Akram Sha'ban Attalah from Dheisheh camp on IS50,000 bail. He was arrested after he was hospitalised following a shooting incident at an Israeli checkpoint.

IMPRISONMENT AND FINES FOR 3 YOUTHS

NABLUS — Nablus military court sentenced Mohammed Abbas Abu Raya, 17, to three months in prison and a fine of IS50,000; Mohammed Humed al-Jawabreh, 16, to three months in prison and a fine of IS50,000; and Harbi Mahmoud al-Kindawi, 17, to two-and-a-half months and a fine of IS50,000. The three youths, who are residents of al-Aroub refugee camp, were charged with security violations.

FLAG IS SERIOUS

Magistrates court in Acre sentenced Hashem Ali Rashed Bushnaq, 19, to four months in prison and eight months suspended plus a fine of IS50,000 after he was convicted of raising the Palestinian flag. The police representative said in court that the defendant had "committed a serious crime and should therefore receive a harsh punishment."

TULKARM RESIDENTS BANNED

TULKARM — Israeli authorities returned all passengers from Tulkarm who were going to Jordan through Damyah bridge. The authorities did not give any reason for their action.

NAZARETH SINGER BANNED FROM WEST BANK

NAZARETH — Israeli military authorities issued an order banning Nazareth singer Fawzi al-Sa'adi from entering the occupied territories for one year. The singer was due to take part in the Bir Zeit Layali (nights) festival.

SAUDI FUNDS FOR BETHLEHEM MUNICIPALITY

BETHLEHEM — Israel radio reported that Defence Minister Moshe Arens has given permission to Bethlehem municipality to bring in thousands of US dollars donated by Saudi Arabia. Arens said this procedure does not mean altering Israel's policy in such cases and that the decision was taken following the recommendation of the defence ministry coordinator in the occupied territories.

BOMB THROWN AT ISRAELI PATROL

GAZA — A bomb was thrown at an Israeli army patrol in Jabalya refugee camp near Gaza. The bomb failed to explode. Israeli soldiers searched the area and carried out several arrests.

ALIGNMENT PROPOSES REFERENDUM ON FUTURE OF WEST BANK

In the context of consultations to form an Israeli 'National Unity' government, Yitzhak Rabin and Haim Barlev (Ma'arach) revived the suggestion put forward by Golda Meir (the former Israeli prime minister) regarding a referendum on every project concerning the future of the West Bank. Many Likud leaders welcomed the suggestion.

Coalition Discussed but Likud and Labour Still Court Smaller Parties

Likud and Ma'arach coalitions leaders discuss the possibilities of forming a joint government since chances of one coalition government do not seem possible.

The major Israeli parties, Likud and Labour, began negotiations for a national unity government August 1, after both faced stalemate in trying to form a narrow-based coalition government with the smaller parties. The first round between the two was held in the King David hotel in Jerusalem, lasted four hours, and reportedly ended without concrete results. No details were disclosed about the initial meeting other than an announcement that talks would resume the next day.

Representatives of the two parties were satisfied by saying that the talks were of a general nature. It appears that the possibilities of forming an Israeli unity government are increasing. Statements by both the Labour Party leader, Shimon Peres, and Yitzhak Shamir, the prime minister of the Likud-led government, indicated that the differences between them over primary issues such as the economy and security are not essential.

At the same time that negotiations are underway between the two to form a unity government, each party continues to conduct talks with small parties in an attempt to set up a narrow-based government.

The Jerusalem Post reported August 2 that Likud and Labour were still meeting with the various factions to see which would commit themselves to a narrow government led by one of them. Below is a summary of the situation within the Israeli parties:

With 120 seats in the Israeli Knesset, 61 votes are needed to form a government but 60 votes are sufficient to block the formation of a government. These are the figures constantly before the eyes of Yitzhak Shamir and Shimon Peres as they try to form a government after the July 23 elections. The effect of the soldiers' votes, counted after the first provisional results were released, reduced the Alignment representation by one seat, to 44, and increased the Tehiya group's to 5. This made the Alignment's task slightly more difficult, but did not significantly ease Likud's task.

The Alignment can count on 50 seats towards a coalition — its own 44, plus 3 each from the Citizens' Rights Movement (CRM) and from Shinui. The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and the Progressive List for Peace would vote with this group against a Likud-led coalition, making a total of 56 blocking votes. Likud can only count on 46 certain seats toward a coalition — its own 41 plus 5 from Tehiya. Meir Kahane's Kach would also vote with this bloc against a Labour-led coalition, making a total of 47 certain votes against such a coalition.

The remaining 17 seats are held by representatives of seven small parties, and major efforts are being made by both groups to win over enough support from them in order to reach the magic figure of 61.

Three of these seats are held by Ezer Weizmann's new Yahad ('Together') party. Weizmann, a former member of Begin's Herut component of the Likud, resigned from the Likud government in protest at the government's attitude towards the peace treaty with Egypt. Once noted for his extreme hawkish views, Weizmann is believed to have been profoundly influenced by Sadat's visit to Jerusalem and the signing of the Camp David agreements. He has more than once expressed his unwillingness to sit at the cabinet table with representatives of Tehiya and Kach. If he were to stick to this position, then the Likud, which would be unlikely to drop Tehiya, would have to attract the support of all the other small parties, including Kach, in order to reach 61 seats. In return for his support, Weizmann, who had previously expressed an interest in the finance portfolio, is now after the job of foreign minister. This would prove an embarrassment for Shimon Peres, who before the start of the election headed off a challenge to his leadership of the Labour Party from ex-President Yitzhak Navon by promising him the foreign ministry, thereby breaking his earlier promise of the same job to ex-foreign minister Abba Eban.

Yediot Aharanot reported July 29 that Weizmann can in effect decide which of the two parties will form the government, and is bargaining with both in order to increase the price he is paid. He is thought to prefer an Alignment government in principle, but still harbours dreams of returning to Herut and bidding for leadership when Shamir retires. It is even rumoured that circles within Likud favour offering Weizmann the premiership.

Weizmann's support alone, however, is not enough to guarantee either party's ability to form a government. Therefore, he is keeping his options open until a final decision. Either major party must still attract the support of other small parties in order to gain 61 votes. At this point, another complication enters the picture. The National Religious Party, whose strength has dwindled from a 12-seat high in 1981 to 4 today, is unwilling to give up any of its cabinet posts: the ministries of the interior, education and religious affairs. But the newly formed ultra-orthodox Shas (Sephardi Guardians of the Torah) Party, which also won 4 seats, is also demanding the ministry of religious affairs, which would enable it to use the coffers for its own religious institutions, which it claims have been discriminated against by previous Ashkenazi ministers.

The conflict between Shas and the NRP over the ministry of religious affairs has prevented the formation of a joint negotiating bloc by all the religious parties and it seems certain that both parties cannot sit in the same government. Such a standoff would make the formation of a Likud-led coalition impossible. But all the religious parties know that they can only hope to survive by supporting the governing party and extorting massive finance for their institutions, thus maintaining the support of their electorates. So, an eventual compromise between Shas and the NRP cannot be ruled out.

As well as financial demands, the religious parties have a number of social demands of the major parties in return for their support. They are demanding an amendment of the Law of Return to rule out non-orthodox conversions to Judaism, a tightening of the conditions under which abortion is permitted, ending of military service for women, the enactment of a law against disturbing ancient Jewish burial sites, which would effectively end archaeological research in Israel, banning of all public transport, including service taxis, on Saturdays — the Jewish holy day, and other items of legislation. These demands are strongly opposed by Shinui and the CRM, and also by elements within the Alignment itself. Although they would not refuse to support a coalition containing religious parties, they would oppose these ultra-religious demands. The religious parties are therefore reportedly seeking a signed declaration that all members of the coalition would vote in favour of such legislation before agreeing to support either party, according to *HaAretz* August 1. Shinui and the CRM would not agree to sign such a declaration, thus making the Alignment's task more difficult.

The negotiations are exacerbating internal difficulties within many parties. Shimon Peres, having led Labour to defeat in 1977 and 1981, would be unlikely to survive a third defeat. His survival as party leader thus depends on his ability to form a government. Yitzhak Shamir was only narrowly re-elected Herut leader over Ariel Sharon, and if he has now led 'Begin's Party' to defeat, the demand for his replacement would become strong. NRP leader Yosef Burg, who has been a member of every Knesset since Israel's foundation, and is, after Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, the world's longest serving cabinet minister, is trying to maintain control over a weakened party. The Liberal Party element in the Likud, vastly over-represented in the Knesset for their potential electoral appeal, is threatening to leave Likud, and is itself facing a leadership crisis. Agudat Israel is seriously split, and its two MKs are conducting *separate* coalition negotiations with possible partners, according to *HaAretz* July 27.

Both major parties are thus facing serious difficulties in putting together a coalition — though a defection of several liberals from Likud to the Alignment, which cannot be ruled out, would certainly tip the balance in the Alignment's favour. Against this background, there is now serious talk of the formation of a 'National Unity' coalition, embracing both the Alignment and Likud. Predictably, the parties cannot even agree on who would head such a coalition, Peres demanding the leadership as head of the largest party, Shamir claiming to have first thought of the idea.

Although on most matters of interest to the Palestinian people there is little difference between these two faces of Zionism, it is still hard to see much on which the two could agree. The allocation of seats in such a cabinet would cause problems, and the number of people feeling offended at being passed over, and thus causing difficulties, could be large. One suggestion is that the two major parties form a coalition solely for the purpose of enacting a new electoral law which would eliminate all the small parties, and then calling for new elections. One way or another, the next elections look extremely likely to be held earlier than the maximum date of 1988.

The election results and the coalition difficulties reflect the deep crisis of Israel in its 36th year. But in themselves they offer little comfort to the Palestinian people; and in the election of the fascist Kahane, and his gaining of parliamentary immunity, they represent a real threat of more open and brutal repression.